"These Sad, Distracted Tymes"

The Impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English Music, *c.*1640 to *c.*1660

by

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Abstract

The music of mid-seventeenth-century England, and particularly of the Civil War and Interregnum, is a period frequently overlooked or misconstrued by musicology. The powerful image of the 1640s and 1650s as two decades of artistic desolation under the harsh administration of an oppressive religious regime has impacted heavily on the historiographical perception of its music. The Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate undoubtedly altered aspects of English musical culture, whether through the disbanding of the royal musical establishment, restriction of the use of music in worship, or prohibition of stage plays. However, these events and influences must be seen in the context of their time rather than isolated as examples of Puritan aggression. For instance, the position of the Commonwealth government in regard to the church and stage was not without general precedent or political justification – power merely provided the opportunity to instigate long-desired reforms and necessitated the careful use of censorship. In direct contrast with the image of the Civil War and Interregnum as a time of bleak silence, these years witnessed an enthusiastic continuation of domestic music and a marked increase in musical publication. Even in the religious and theatrical settings, the composition and performance of music was a recurrent feature. The Civil War and Interregnum therefore had a varied, but not necessarily devastating effect on English music of the 1640s and 1650s. In awareness of the historiographical forces that have hitherto shaped the reception of the period, this thesis will determine the impact of "these sad, distracted tymes" on the music of mid-seventeenth-century England.

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Note on Dates and Spellings

In the mid eighteenth century Britain and its colonies converted to the Gregorian calendar, removing eleven days from September 1752 in order to make the transition. Prior to this the nation had operated on the Julian calendar that, although similar in structure to the Gregorian, began the year on 1st March with January and February being the last two months of the previous year. For instance, what in modern times would be 17th January 1643 was 17th January 1642 in the seventeenth century. To avoid confusion, all dates have been modernised unless otherwise specified. Conversely, spellings have been retained unless obscure enough to restrict clarity.[1]

[1] For a concise history of the Western calendar see *Calendars through the Ages*, http://www.webexibits.org/calendars, 21st April 2003.

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Introduction

The music of mid-seventeenth-century England constitutes a different beauty to what is generally accepted. There are few grand gestures, memorable motives or spectacular finales, no noticeable stylistic innovations to influence the course of music history, and no famous works to attract outside attention. Instead the period stretches forth as a fairly unnotable piece of musicological geography, devoid of prominent landmarks in the form of "great composers," strong musical patronage or innovative compositional techniques. As a result of this, the years of the English Civil War and Interregnum have, in many interpretations, come to be one of the most misunderstood times in music history. Generally either minimized, harshly interpreted or completely omitted, the 1640s and 1650s have seldom been considered favourably, particularly in writings of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1] This process continues to feed off itself, gathering momentum with each passing repetition, encouragement and "reinterpretation" of the accepted norm. Compounding from the late seventeenth century onwards, the results three centuries later have been severe. The traditional perception of the period – as a time when cultural activity in any form was severely suppressed – has potentially travelled a vast distance from the musical climate that might have encapsulated Cromwellian England. Possibly to a greater extent than any other time in music history, this period has perpetually drifted amongst waves of powerful images and the sometimes damaging forces they can bring into play.

[1] Examples of this can be seen in the writings of Charles Burney, John Hawkins, Edmund Fellowes and several other authors discussed in Chapter Two, pp.37 and 88-90.

A recurring theme in the treatment of English music during the Civil War and Commonwealth has been the almost exclusive direction of emphasis toward characteristics, such as a "great composer," that it fails to possess. In addition the bastion of much previous English music, the Church, has been considerably restricted in its use of music and can no longer serve as a pre-eminent patron of performance and composition. Yet these are not the only factors to impede England's gentle stroll through music history. On the main musical advancement of the seventeenth century, the development of opera, England fails to deliver, whilst in the cultivation of instrumental forms such as the sonata, the island lags wearily behind the rest of Europe.[2] For such tardiness and lack of attention the penalties are severe. The musical endeavours of the English Civil War and Interregnum have been perpetually clouded behind an almost opaque veil of darkness and negativity. Disguised on one hand by the ill-fitting criteria of music historiography, and on the other by the turbulent political and social events of the period, there seems little alternative but to view the music of mid-seventeenth-century England as a sub-standard art-form hopelessly floundering under the austere principles of an oppressive religious regime. Yet such viewpoints are brought about by the automatic restatement of long-established ideas rather than a determined effort to uncover what might have been the actual musical situation. The challenge is to overcome these damaging perceptions and consider the period as if freed from the encumbrance of its traditional image.

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[2] In this particular context, "opera" refers to the all-sung, Italianate genre, a form that in almost every instance varied significantly from the English masques and semi-operas of the seventeenth century. See Richard Luckett, "Exotick but Rational Entertainments: The English Dramatick Operas," *English Drama: Forms and Development*, ed. M. Axton and R. Williams (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) 123-41; Curtis Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre: With a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays, 1665-1713*, Studies in Musicology 4, (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979); and Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1984).

In attempting to achieve this, the method of approach becomes an issue of prime importance. Focusing almost exclusively on the music, then attempting to "just add history" is an extremely problematic approach to adopt in trying to determine the effect of the English Civil War and Interregnum on the music of the period. The twenty years from *c.*1640 to the Restoration were turbulent times – witnessing war, regicide, parliamentarian rule, religious conflict, the re-establishment of the monarchy, and accompanied by significant demographic growth. Although individual experiences vary, human lives cannot be divorced from such events. Musicians do not exist in isolation from the world around them and:

> [a] historical understanding of music requires that we both understand how music is in history and understand the history of music.[3]

By separating the music from the lives of its creators, be they performers, composers or listeners, the vital link between the music and its time is virtually destroyed. At face value such a scenario may not seem so precarious, yet it produces cracks which penetrate through to the very foundations of mainstream musicology – cracks through which damaging streams of misunderstanding can easily flow. Divorced from context, arguments will blindly mould themselves to conform to the dominant system. Without reference to the history, an examination of the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English music becomes futile and meaningless. This thesis is a musicological work, but at its core is, out of necessity, the presence of history – the structure within which the music of any period deserves to be placed.

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[3] Leo Treitler, "Historiography of Music: Issues of Past and Present," *Rethinking Music*, ed. N. Cook and M. Everist (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 165.

In order to establish this framework, the opening chapters focus primarily on "history" and the issues it inevitably brings forth. Chapter One provides a brief overview of the social, political, military and economic history of mid-seventeenth-century England. It takes into account, amongst other things, the causes and consequences of the Civil War and the characteristics of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. This opening section serves as a contextual basis for the consideration of English music during the 1640s and 1650s. Yet history is only as good as its interpretation. History can teach us many things, but the forces of historiography shape the value and precise nature of these lessons. Despite a variety of interpretations as to the causes and consequences of the English Civil War and the motives governing Interregnum rule, cultural historians have generally preferred to follow a mainstream line of analysis. For music in particular, this well-trodden path has largely been pioneered and maintained by the traffic of historiography – the shaping of history – rather than through an acute understanding of the musical climate of the period. In the pursuit of historicity, Chapter Two provides a thorough examination of the construction and role of historiography, and particularly musical historiography, in the creation of the dominant interpretation of mid-seventeenth-century English music. By understanding the roads upon which other musicologists have travelled, and the pitfalls that have marked their journey, the impact of the English Civil War and Interregnum on its concurrent music can be more accurately determined.

This strong dose of musical historiography has undoubtedly contributed to the failure of the literature to produce a detailed and holistic examination of music during the English Civil War and Interregnum. The primary exception was the

well-known work by Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, which assertively challenged the traditional viewpoint that the 1640s and 1650s were an almost barren period in the history of English music.[4] In the almost seventy years since this work, research into the music of mid-seventeenth-century England has concentrated heavily on individual, more isolated aspects such as manuscript studies and composer genealogy.[5] While the value and importance of such work is unquestionable, their combined forces fail to paint a complete picture of the period in question. Although *The Puritans and Music* served as a general overview of music in mid-seventeenth-century England and New England, providing a detailed account of the period and the effect of the Civil War and Interregnum on its music was not the primary concern. In determining the impact of these events this thesis aims to provide a holistic examination of English music from *c.*1640 to *c.*1660, an undertaking, with the partial exception of *The Puritans and Music*, largely unseen. With the *Gestalt* principle in mind, this work aims to add the parts together, exceed their individual values and aspire to an outcome deserving of a place in the musicological literature.

A second level of originality stems from the extensive use of primary sources or, more specifically, from the use and analysis of these sources. However, casting a net far and wide is only effective if the proverbial net is not full of gaping holes. In examining the music of Civil War and Interregnum England, and the impact of the period upon this music, consideration must be given to a wide variety of sources and locations. There is little point scattering

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[4] Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations*, (London: Oxford UP, 1934).

[5] See for example Andrew Ashbee, "Genealogy and John Jenkins," *Music & Letters* 46 (1955): 225-30; and John Irving, "Consort playing in mid-17th-century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian partbooks Mus.Sch.E.415-18," *Early Music* (1984): 337-44.

seeds on rocky ground where only a few will sprout – using only a limited number of sources quickly reduces the work's yield. For instance, focusing almost exclusively on the city of London, a common feature in many works on English music, fails to determine the effect of the conflict and Commonwealth regime as a whole. This avoidance of the "London is England" approach becomes even more important with the removal of the court from London and alterations in the capital's theatre scene. Similarly, relying exclusively on one or two prolific sources, or concentrating on a particular type of source, potentially distorts the wider picture. Whilst the generally small number of available sources frequently makes this difficult, the law of numbers can be overruled with the careful consideration of the documents involved.

Awareness must be displayed in regard to the accuracy and reliability of sources, as well as to any biases they may possess. This is naturally of utmost importance in any historical topic, but becomes imperative when dealing with an era as turbulent as Civil War and Interregnum England. The immediate need for political and social survival can strongly influence the nature of material. For instance, in the British bombardment of the Spanish court of Cadiz in October 1626, the cannons were fired well beyond the range of their targets. The ensuing amphibious landing, for which the troops forgot to fill their water bottles, turned into a drunken debacle when they discovered 600 barrels of wine. The result was an easy victory for the Spanish. For Lord Wimbledon, the leader of the expedition, reporting the outcome of what was not one of Britain's finer hours required a decidedly minimalist approach, confessing that this "greate quantitie of

wine ... put me to some trouble."[6] With such flexibility of interpretation, it is conceivable that the unfavourable reputation of the Interregnum, so frequently expressed in the immediate years after the Restoration, may have been primarily a display of support for the reign of Charles II, and for the monarchy in general, rather than an accurate account of the 1640s and 1650s. As a result of this, later sources, written under different political circumstances and with the benefit of a larger chronological buffer, cannot automatically be precluded on account of their date. The use of sources, whether primary or secondary, unavoidably brings forth the issues of exactitude and accountability. In any form of historical study, and especially one encompassing a wide variety of documents, such issues are pivotal in creating and maintaining a work of integrity.

Yet even with the use of a wide variety of sources, it is impossible to escape the fact that a sizable percentage has been lost over the centuries. What is available three hundred and fifty years on is only what time has, largely randomly, preserved and represents an undetermined fraction of what might have once existed. The situation is further exacerbated by the political turmoil of the period that resulted in many individuals deliberately destroying written evidence as a means of self-protection. For instance, at the fall of Oxford to Parliamentarian forces in 1646, many members of Charles I's resident court set about destroying as many potentially incriminating papers as possible.[7] Where sources pertaining to extraordinary events do survive, they frequently take on a form of outward banality that must generally be overcome in order to extract the essential meaning

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[6] State Papers, Charles I, "Letter from Lord Wimbledon to the Duke of Buckingham, 8th November 1625," Public Records Office, 16-9-130.

[7] Jonathan Wainwright, "Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford," *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 122.

of the document. On encountering his friend William Neale in the Parliamentarian cavalry near Winchester in July 1644, the Royalist Edmund Ludlow recorded that:

> I called to him telling him I was sorry to see him there, but since it was so I offered to exchange a shot.[8]

Such words, whilst valuable in themselves, give little insight into the emotions or deeper observations of those involved. For any period the ability to look beyond the written word is paramount.

Co-existing with this external selection brought about by time is the conscious inclusion or removal of information by writers and copyists. Even without the issue of political considerations, the desire of an individual to present themselves in a favourable light to their descendents is a recurrent theme in any period. For example, in memoirs mention of unbenign, unorthodox or mis-interpretable behaviour may be deliberately omitted so as to circumvent present and future scandal, avoid offence and obtain peer acceptance. References to everyday common occurrences may be continually lacking, considered to be too mundane and trivial for inclusion, just as information deemed "common knowledge" to the writer and their contemporaries may be omitted on account of its familiarity. There are strong forces at play here – the physical ravages of time in the form of floods, fire and gradual disintegration as well as conscious human destruction resulting from political or religious outrage or the desire for protection in the face of adversity. In addition, there is the generally innate human need for peer support and acceptance, a seemingly subtle factor in comparison with acts of

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[8] Quoted in Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651*, (London: Routledge, 1994) 43.

God and acts of state, but nonetheless a major influence in shaping and determining the body of sources that survive three and a half centuries later.

Entwined with this is the inescapable fact that, even allowing for an individual's desire for the approval of their descendants, sources were very much created for the present. They were *not* produced with a view to the distant future. Transferred to a modern setting, there are very few inhabitants of the world today who give more than limited thought to the globe around 2350 or who set out to provide accurate records of life in the early twenty-first century. With the extensive use of ephemeral communication methods such as telephones and e-mail, in addition to the long-serving spoken word, historians centuries in the future may well be afflicted with a severe dearth of information. Similarly, seventeenth-century writers were little concerned with providing for researchers hundreds of years later. The fact that sources were not written for the far future, and that the processes of the human mind and the mechanisms of time taint them, cannot be escaped. In the use of such documents they are issues that must constantly be considered.

With the foundations of history and historiographical influence firmly in place, attention can be directed towards the music itself, and the impact of the conflict and Commonwealth regime on its creators, cultivators and consumers. In organising such an undertaking, a number of approaches present themselves as methodological candidates. For instance, this thesis could have been constructed as a series of geographical case studies in which the music for centres such as London and Oxford was considered to be representative of the island as a whole.

Alternatively, the work could have employed the related methodology of "slice history" in which a small selection of time frames between *c.*1640 and *c.*1660 were singled out for in-depth examination. Although these approaches potentially bring forth detailed information as to musical activity in a specific place or at a particular time, they also produce outcomes that are not necessarily advantageous for this particular topic. In producing a set of localised studies, the aim of delivering a holistic examination of English music during the Civil War and Interregnum becomes all too easily lost amongst its parts. The musical situation of England as a whole cannot be accurately determined on the basis of events in a few, invariably metropolitan, locations or from a small selection of pre-determined time frames. Additionally, given that the date and provenance of many documents, textural and musical, is dubious, the very pillars of such examination will often rest heavily on unstable conjecture and supposition. For some topics, especially those where sources are more prolific and determinable, such issues are of little importance. However, in the case of this particular work, these disadvantages easily over-ride the benefits to be gained from a series of concentrated case studies. It is simply not the best methodology for the task at hand.

With geographical and chronological case studies virtually discounted, the principal alternative was to organise the project in terms of the individual musical genres cultivated and the effect of the conflict and ensuing regime on this music. Yet this approach also presents difficulties. As with the music of most periods, that of mid-seventeenth-century England cannot always be easily categorised – the level of overlap between genres is simply too great. For instance, should

consort song be included under vocal music or considered as part of the consort repertoire? Is music for the lyra viol better viewed as viol music or does its almost exclusive use of tablature place it more firmly in the realm of lute music? In addition, such an approach risks, given the convenient degree of chronological distance, the superimposition of later classifications rather than a thoughtful appreciation of how English musicians of the period might have viewed their art. To be sure, composers wrote with both instrumentation and purpose in mind, but this does not automatically allow for problem-free categorisation according to perceived genre. The distance in time and possible mindset is too great. Given that the fundamental purpose of this thesis is to determine the impact of the English Civil War and Interregnum on the music of the period, organising a topic such as this through the use of potentially sterile categorisations risks dismantling the work's historicity. Whilst closer to the mark than a series of chronological and geographical case studies, examining the period in relation to highly specific genres inevitably makes a project such as this somewhat unwieldy. It fails to possess enough benefits to overcome its underlying disadvantages.

Although unsuitable in its most intricate form, the idea of organising the topic through the medium of genre is nevertheless a powerful one. At a specific level much of the meaning risks being lost, but if applied more broadly form and function can provide a sturdy framework. For example, focusing on an individual genre such as the short service is almost certain to produce a much narrower picture than an examination of sacred music as a whole. By using a larger umbrella, a greater area can be covered more efficiently and difficult gaps avoided. Yet this is not to imply that the method is devoid of problems. Given

that genre is still being used as the foundation, the difficulties of classification still remain. Although significantly minimised by the use of a broader approach the issue of how to categorise, for example religious music performed in a domestic setting, still remains. Unfortunately, the quest for a perfect methodology is infinite. The search is rather for the best approach to the individual topic. For this particular work, the consideration of the period in terms of broad genre studies is by far the most suitable – its structures information but does not confine it rigidly enough to strangle its significance and meaning.

With this in place, chapters three to five have been broadly divided by genre and musical purpose. The first of these is sacred music, the area generally perceived as suffering most from the Civil War and subsequent Puritan regime. That the Commonwealth administration placed strong restrictions on the use of music in worship is a fact frequently reiterated. However the nature of these restrictions, namely their connection with the work of earlier English reformers and their effect on the sacred repertoire as whole, have been frequently minimised or overlooked. Work on English church music has, despite its labelling, largely concentrated on music performed in cathedral or collegiate settings rather than on the at times vastly different output heard in the parish church. From this restricted angle, the impact of the English Civil War and Interregnum differs markedly from the outcome of a broader examination of English sacred music. Similarly, when considered in reference to earlier thinking on the place and appropriate nature of music in English Protestant worship, rather than as a series of isolated Puritan opinions, the image produced takes on a vastly different appearance. Given that this thesis aims to present a holistic examination of music during mid-

seventeenth-century England, and in doing so avoid the many pitfalls of historiography, attention must be given to all forms of sacred music. This includes music intended for all places of worship, be they cathedrals, parish churches, collegiate chapels or synagogues, as well as to religious music, for example psalms, performed in a domestic setting. By placing emphasis upon all English sacred music the effects of the Civil War and Interregnum become clearer and the underlying aims of the thesis more attainable.

In addition to religious music, the Civil War and Interregnum has also been seen as having had a negative impact on music in the theatre. It therefore seems logical to follow the examination of this music onwards from that of sacred music. Again, much of the standard perception of mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music stems from a combination of concentrated focus upon a genre, namely opera, with which the period does not score well, and the limited consideration of sources. Whilst there can be no doubt that the turbulent events of the period heavily affected England's many theatrical traditions, it does not necessarily follow that the result was universal, that music was completely banished, or that the industry was utterly incapable of adaptation. Ironically, music served as a primary means of circumventing these regulations – a play containing a suitable proportion of music could potentially be promoted as a "concert," "opera" or, as Sir William Davenant (1606-68) so eloquently advocated, "a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes" with "the Story sung in *Recitative* Musick," and thus avoid censure.[9] In addition the ordinance prohibiting stage plays excluded both schools and private houses – venues that

[9] William Davenant, *The Dramatic Works of William Davenant: With Prefatory Memoire and Notes*, 5 vols, ed. James Maidment and W.H. Logan, Vol. 3, (Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran, 1872) 232.

staged various theatrical productions, including *Cupid and Death*, a masque by James Shirley (1596-1666) performed for the visit of the Portuguese ambassador in 1653. Total silence was never achieved. In light of such activity, it may well be that the political climate of Commonwealth England was not as musically devastating as generally believed.

The final chapter of the thesis concentrates on music intended for the domestic setting, an area for which traditional historiographical attitudes have generally been more positive. Underneath this broad banner lies not only consort music, but also solo keyboard, lute and viol music, as well as an associated vocal repertoire. However, despite usually receiving a favourable interpretation in comparison with more public musical forms, the reputation of mid-seventeenth-century English domestic music is nevertheless strongly shaped by the dominant image of the period as a whole. Although it has softened considerably over the course of recent decades, the underlying notion that England was devoid of music during the 1640s and 1650s has permeated numerous works devoted to or incorporating the period. For instance, in discussing the music meetings of Interregnum Oxford, Charles Burney (1726-1814), the well-known musical historian of the early eighteenth century, noted that:

> [t]en years of gloomy silence seem to have elapsed before a string was suffered to vibrate, or a pipe to breathe aloud, in the kingdom.[10]

Yet there is a twist. Whilst the reaction of Burney to the period as a whole was by no means enthusiastic he was, as with many of his successors, nevertheless willing to concede that some domestic music did take place. Perhaps more than

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[10] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, 1776-1789, Rpt. (London: Foulis, 1935) 334. This work was issued in four volumes, the first appearing in 1776 and the last in 1789.

other field of musical endeavour, the distance between what actually transpired and the historiographical perception of the period is at its closest. Yet, as with sacred music and with the music of the theatre, this powerful dichotomy remains.

This thesis will determine the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on mid-seventeenth-century English music. Yet this process is inextricably intertwined with ascertaining the role of historiography in the creation of the period and the extent of its influence. Given this almost incestuous connection, and the need to closely examine the construction of mid-seventeenth-century England, the first sections are devoted to examining the history of the period and the emergence of its historiography. The intention is to set down a solid foundation from which to approach the topic. From here, the effect of the Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate becomes clearer. Organised into three broad divisions of genre, the work sets out to provide a holistic examination of English music from *c.*1640 to *c.*1660 and, within the context of this *Gestalt* creation, add the relevant parts of previous research together. By considering each of these fields – by examining both cathedral and consort music within the same study – the aims of the thesis are more likely to become realisable and determinable.

Elements of originality also stem from the extensive use of primary sources or, more specifically, the use and analysis of these sources. Given that accuracy and existence are not always compatible it is imperative that each piece of information, whatever its form, be treated with a level of scepticism and due consideration. With the turbulent nature of the period and the sizeable

chronological distance from the early twenty-first century, the tools of conjecture and supposition must all too frequently be applied and supported. Yet this need not be done alone. The limited sources that are available permit the creation of theories, admittedly at times sketchy, regarding the musical climate of the period. The close association of music and history substantially helps this process – the two are mutually supportable. Rather than serve as a loose framework against which to place the music, the history of mid-seventeenth-century England is instead a major component of the musicological argument. By objectively evaluating sources, and by piecing them together in an appropriate and well-thought manner, the aims of this work become more attainable. The influences of centuries of negative historiography are avoided in the journey towards a more accurate picture of musical activity in Civil War and Interregnum England.

In ending the beginning, it is hoped that this thesis will provide a kind of platform for future investigators. At a localised level, it is anticipated that the work will serve as a useful source for those in the immediate research area. From a broader perspective, the adoption of a method in which music and history enjoy a closer a relationship, although obviously not suitable for all topics, may serve as a viable approach for those examining similar themes. This work aims to encourage a more critical examination of both primary and secondary sources – commonplace in much writing, less relevant in other cases, and sometimes lacking where desperately needed. In addition, it aims to increase the awareness and appreciation of a severely neglected and misunderstood period that is home to some wonderful music. Whilst much of the output remains obscure, and the most famous composers of the period rarely rate a mention in the overall musicological

scheme of things, the years of Civil War and Interregnum England produced music of a different quality to that of the mainstream repertoire. More often than not it has been unkindly treated by the forces of historiography, yet nevertheless remains a body of music that deserves to be better known. Beyond the tumultuousness of war and Republican England music continued, variably shaped and defined by contemporary political events but not formed by their existence alone. It was music for, rather than by, those "sad, distracted tymes."[11]

[11] Thomas Tomkins, *A Sad Pavan: for these distracted tymes*, 14th February 1649, Paris Conservatoire, MS Rés 1122. A modern edition of this work can be found in *Thomas Tomkins: Keyboard Music*, ed. Stephen Tuttle, 2nd ed., *Musica Britannica*, Vol. 5 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1964) 114. The manuscript can be found in *La Bibliothéque de Conservatoire in Paris, Manucrit Réserve* 1122, p.136-37.

Chapter One
"More War then We Expected:"
A Historical Overview of Mid-Seventeenth-Century England

> The God of all glory and power, who hath created us, and given us now more war than we expected.[1]

The words of William Lilly (1602-81) may seem humorous with the benefit of over three hundred and fifty years of hindsight, but in 1645 they represented a very real concern. Even for one of the leading astrologers of seventeenth-century England, the scale of the Civil War came as something of a shock. While estimates vary, and the exact figure will never be known, the total number of dead appears to have been well into the hundreds of thousands – a significant number in the context of an English population of between three and four million. Yet the loss of life was not exclusively the result of armed conflict. Amongst military personnel around half succumbed to the effects of disease rather than the perils of swords, muskets and gunpowder. For civilians, and the distinctions were frequently ambiguous, the percentage killed by illness was even higher.[2] Like numerous other military endeavours throughout the centuries and across the continents, the events of the 1640s and 1650s:

> were a complex series of wars, in which men and women killed and were killed, had their bodies maimed, and had to endure some of the most traumatic experiences any human being can face.[3]

As with all warfare, the conflicts of mid-seventeenth-century England went well beyond the clean, neat pages of a history book.

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[1] Quoted in Roy Sherwood, *The Civil War in the Midlands, 1642-1651*, (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1992) 129.
[2] See Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651*, (London: Routledge, 1994) 201-29.
[3] Carlton 52.

Viewed from the early twenty-first century, these numbers may seem severe, even in light of far more severe modern numerical equivalents such as the Hutu and Tutsi massacres of Rwanda and Burundi. That the English Civil War was a turbulent event dispatching large numbers of people, not to mention horses and other livestock, is unquestionable. However, from a seventeenth-century perspective it was not the only incident of mass carnage. On the continent the Thirty Years War wreaked havoc and killed millions, whilst even in relatively peaceful times the hazards of fire, famine and disease were never-ending. Life expectancy during the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century ranged from twenty in the poorer parts of London to around forty-five in rural areas.[4] The effects of bubonic plague alone were devastating. In each of the severe outbreaks of 1603 and 1625, the population of London was reduced by around 40 000, resulting in a decrease of between a quarter and a fifth of the capital's population.[5] The particularly severe outbreak of 1665 reduced the burgeoning population by a further 80 000 – roughly the total number of inhabitants in England's five largest provincial cities.[6] Some indication of the situation at ground level can be seen in the diary of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703). On 31st August 1665 he wrote that:

> [e]very day sadder and sadder news of its encrease [*sic.*]. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring [*sic.*] for them.[7]

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[4] Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000) 105; Francis Sheppard, *London: A History*, (Oxford: OUP, 1998) 193.
[5] Sheppard 128.
[6] Sheppard 128.
[7] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 2 vols., ed. J. Smith, Lord Braybrooke and Richard Garnett, vol. 1, (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1906) 622.

War or no war, survival in seventeenth-century England was not a matter for the faint-hearted.

Yet even in light of these statistics, the significance of the conflicts that engulfed England during this period cannot be minimised. The outcome was, at least for a decade or so, the fundamental alteration of British political administration – this was not a standard case of sovereign defeating sovereign or the victory of a strong nationalist struggle for independence. While the Commonwealth shared similarities with the ensuing and preceding monarchies, it was nevertheless a distinctly different form of regime emphasising a raw form of democracy and republicanism rather than the blatantly autocratic control of previous centuries.[8] Armed with such a variety of enticing ingredients, it is not surprising that the period has attracted substantial interest from historians and prompted a wide range of interpretations. Examples include the Marxist viewpoint, which essentially depicts the conflict as the boiling point of a simmering class struggle, and the revisionist perspective which tends to de-emphasise long-term social and political factors in favour of religious considerations.[9] Even the title of the conflict is not clear-cut. The commonly applied term, "English Civil War" is itself something of a misnomer – the English Civil War was not a single war, nor was it limited to England. In addition to the first civil war of 1642 to 1646, the conflict also encompassed hostilities between

[8] Technically, the Commonwealth lasted only until the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658 at which point it was replaced by the Protectorate under Cromwell's son Richard (1626-1712). However, the term "Commonwealth" is frequently used, as is "Interregnum" to refer to the entire duration of the English Republic.

[9] See Ann Hughes, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, (New York: St. Martin's, 1991) 1-8 and Alastair MacLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England: An Essay on the Fabrication of Seventeenth-Century History*, (London: Macmillan, 1996).

Parliament and the army in 1648 and 1649, and the unsuccessful attempt of Charles II to regain the English throne. Nor was the war contained within English borders. The Scottish and Irish rebellions and various battles in Wales added extra dimensions to the conflict, and made the events of mid-seventeenth-century England a much wider state of affairs.

Providing a detailed account and analysis of the causes, characteristics and consequences of the English Civil War and Interregnum serves little purpose within the context of this thesis. To begin with, the limitations of space alone would leave absolutely no room to discuss the music of the period. The political events of mid-seventeenth-century England provide for numerous thesis topics well before any aspects of social, cultural or economic history are brought into play. At any rate, historians have keenly answered the call of this period and there exist many valuable works of both recent and earlier publication. Authors such as G.E. Aylmer, John Morrill and David Underdown are all good starting points, as are the relevant sections of wider-focus works such as G.M. Trevelyan's *History of England* and the recent *A History of Britain* by Simon Schama.[10] Charles Carlton's *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* provides an excellent ground level account of the conflict whilst *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England: An Essay on the Fabrication of*

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[10] G.E. Aylmer, *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement, 1646-1660*, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1972); Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Consitution, 1603-1689: England in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Blandford, 1975); Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution?: England 1640-1660*, (Oxford: OUP, 1987); John Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650*, (London: Macmillan, 1982); Morrill,ed., *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s*, (London: Collins & Brown, 1992); David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971); Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*, (Oxford: OUP, 1987); Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); G.M. Trevelyan, *A History of England*, (London: Longmans Green, 1937); Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776*. London: BBC, 2001.

Seventeenth-Century History by Alastair MacLachlan discusses the historiographical treatment of the 1640s and 1650s and the many interpretations of the period.[11]

Events after the 1642-46 Civil War have also been extensively covered in works such as *The Swordsmen in Power: War and Politics Under the English Republic 1649-1660* by Roger Hainsworth, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth 1649-1653* by Sean Kelsey and *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* edited by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden.[12] There is also a reasonable supply of primary source material including the writings of John Evelyn (1620-1796), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Bruno Ryves (1596-1677), Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658), Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-75) and, for the slightly later period, Samuel Pepys.[13] Yet these works represent only the tip of a very large iceberg. The aim of this chapter is not to reiterate these works but instead to provide a brief overview of the 1640s and 1650s as a means to examining the music of the period.

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[11] Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651*, (London: Routledge, 1994); Alastair MacLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England: An Essay on the Fabrication of Seventeenth-Century History*, (London: Macmillan, 1996).

[12] Roger Hainsworth, *The Swordsmen in Power: War and Politics Under the English Republic 1649-1660*, (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1997); Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth 1649-1653*, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997); and Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden, eds., *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

[13] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer, (London: OUP, 1959); Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Rickard Tuck, (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus: Or, The Countries Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdom Together with A brief Chronology of the Battels, Sieges, Conflicts, and other most remarkable Passages, from the beginning of this unnatural War, to the 25th of March, 1646*, (London, 1685); Nehemiah Wallington, *Historical Notices of Events Occurring Chiefly in the Reign of Charles I*, 2 vols., (London: Richard Bentley, 1869); Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to the Happy Restoration of King Charles the Second*, 4 vols, (Oxford: OUP, 1853); Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 2 vols, ed. J. Smith, Lord Braybrooke and Richard Garnett, (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1906).

The dismay of William Lilly at having received "more war than expected" was not entirely unfounded. At the accession of Charles I there was little obvious evidence, at least without the benefit of hindsight, to suggest the violent conflict that would engulf the country less than twenty years later. The transition between the first and second Stuarts had been amazingly smooth in comparison with their Tudor counterparts. In 1625 the line of succession was clear and unchallenged – Charles was the obvious choice. However, although Charles was the clear candidate, he was certainly not the preferred option. Until 1612, the heir to the throne had been Prince Henry. Had the eldest son of James I not died of typhoid at the age of eighteen, British history may well have taken a vastly different course.[14] Unlike his brother, Charles was uncomfortable in social situations, showed little talent in sport, was physically small even by seventeenth century standards, stammered severely and suffered from rickets.[15] Painters such as Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) were careful not to let reality cloud imagery, adding several centimetres to Charles' one and a half metre frame:

[14] The other surviving child of James I, Princess Elizabeth, married Prince Frederick of Palatine in 1616. It was through this connection that the Hanover dynasty came of rule Britain almost a century later – George I was a grandson of Elizabeth Stuart.

[15] For detailed biographies of Charles I see Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, (London: Routledge, 1983), Christopher W. Daniels and John Morrill, *Charles I*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988) and Christopher Durston, *Charles I*, (London: Routledge, 1998).

Fig. 1. Anthony van Dyck. *Charles I on Horseback.*[16]

Unfortunately however, the creative licence frequently exercised by Charles I in his dealings with Parliament did not have the same effect.

Yet the physical characteristics of Charles I were not in themselves enough to contribute to the disastrous demise of the second Stuart. It was not so much that the personal attributes of the King were fundamentally flawed in themselves but rather that they were, for the most part, woefully unsuitable for the

[16] Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I on Horseback*, *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.gallery.euroweb.hu/index1.html, 29th May 2003.

time and circumstances over which he reigned. At a time when the divine right to rule was beginning to be challenged, a King who resolutely clung to the concept put himself at risk from the stirrings of political dissatisfaction brewing amongst the people. Similarly, the expensive tastes of Charles I for fine paintings and elaborate masques were little appreciated at a time when the royal treasury was desperately short of funds and obsolete taxes were being resurrected to support unpopular foreign wars. Had Charles presided over healthier royal finances and a kingdom and time amenable to autocratic rule, he would probably have been an ideal ruler. Although it is futile, erroneous and unfair to suppose that Charles I was solely responsible for the outbreak of civil war, or that similar events would not have occurred under a different monarch, the stubborn refusal of the second Stuart to grant political concessions and rescind some of his power did little to prevent conflict. Charles may have been a victim of fate, but he possibly could have prevented his own demise.

As with most historical events, those of mid-seventeenth-century England were not the result of a single factor. On the contrary, they were a combination of political, economic and religious elements that fed the increasingly tense relationship between King and Parliament. Attempting to separate these aspects is fraught with difficulty. For instance, the desperate attempts of Charles I to raise revenue in the late 1630s and 1640s were primarily the result of the Scottish and Irish uprisings – insurrections in which religion played a major role. Similarly, the refusal of Parliament to submit to the wishes of their monarch was partially motivated by royal support for religious doctrines such as Arminianism and the

intimacy, perceived or otherwise, between the King and Catholicism.[17] The unpopularity of the Crown's approach to foreign affairs was partially due to the population's general resentment of the political power of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), one of the chief royal advisers. In like fashion, the fact that Charles I delayed visiting his Scottish kingdom until eight years after his accession did little to promote his attempted introduction of *The Book of Common Prayer* in 1637. This in turn prompted an uprising, the refusal of Parliament to fund its repression and the eventual beginning of civil war. Political, economic and religious factors all contributed to a greater whole.

This variety of determinants was further exacerbated by the nature of allegiance – this was not a simple scenario of adherent Royalists against staunch Parliamentarians. At an individual level support for either side, whilst taken seriously, was frequently transferable. In a conflict where uniforms were limited and language barriers were virtually non-existent, shifts of loyalty, at least at a basic physical level, could be accomplished with relative ease. When a Royalist expedition captured a garrison in Hampshire, they found six men from their own regiment fighting for the other side.[18] Nor was this one-way traffic. The Parliamentarians:

> shot Colonel Hughes against Nantwich Church in January 1645 for fighting for the king after having taken the covenant. In July 1643 they hanged Captain Arnold Howard at the High Cross in Barnstaple for deserting to the king and taking his whole troop with him.[19]

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[17] Arminianism, names after the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), held that God had given humans the free will to accept or reject Him. Conversely, Calvinism taught that humans were not free to choose God, and that the decision was in the hands of the Almighty. This contrast was closely connected to the respective thoughts on pre-destination and whether humans had any control over their own salvation. See Chapter Three, pp.124.

[18] Carlton, *Going to the Wars* 198.

[19] Carlton 198.

To this was added desertion – men simply leaving their regiments and heading home. For many, regardless of whether they stayed, changed or went, the issue of who to support and how to participate must have been recurrent themes.

Furthermore, lines of support seldom fell unbroken across family and groups of friends. As Sir Hugh Cholmley solemnly observed:

> I am forced to draw my sword, not only against my countrymen, but my dear friends, and allies, some of which I know to be well affected in religion and lovers of their liberties.[20]

The sorrow felt by Cholmley was not isolated, nor was the experience he lamented uncommon. William Waller, the "most affectionate friend and faithful servant" of Sir Ralph Hopton reminded his "noble friend" that his affection was unchangeable, despite the fact that the pair were about to enter into battle on opposing sides.[21] The complex nature of allegiance was perhaps most poignantly displayed in the experience of Sir Edmund Verney who, despite being a member of Parliament and having voted against Charles on a number of occasions, joined the Royalist army. He died at the Battle of Edgehill trying to protect the Royal standard from Parliamentary forces – an army in which his son Ralph was an officer. The English Civil War was not a straightforward succession of free-standing incidents and fixed principles. As with most military conflict, the turmoils of the 1640s and 1650s were complex situations in which allegiance was not always clear and mortality became even more entwined with life.

An examination of numbers provides some indication of the extent of the carnage. Following the first major clash of the war, the Battle of Edgehill in

[20] Quoted in Carlton 42.
[21] Quoted in Schama 140.

October 1642, approximately 3000 lay dead – killed either in the heat of battle, succumbing to their wounds or being carried off by the bitterly cold conditions. One eyewitness reported:

> the field was covered with the dead, yet no one could tell to what party they belonged.[22]

Similar scenes characterised the aftermath of other battles at Naseby (1645) and Marston Moor (1644). Following the latter, Simeon Ashe (d.1662) observed that the battlefield near York was:

> a mortifying object to behold, when the naked bodies of thousands lay upon the ground and not altogether dead.[23]

At Naseby, a battle that contributed heavily to the overall Royalist defeat, the field in Northamptonshire was:

> so bestrewed with carcasses of horses and men, the bodies lay slain about four miles in length, but most thick on the hill where the king stood.[24]

History has recorded that the Royalists "won" the Battle of Edgehill and that the Parliamentarians prevailed at Marston Moor and Naseby, yet none were achieved without the substantial loss of life. To those who lived through the turmoils, and for the music they enjoyed and produced, the impact of the conflict would generally have had far more to do with the loss of friends, family and property than with the military tactics of opposing armies.

For the most part however, the English Civil War was characterised not by large battles but by localised sieges and skirmishes. Across Britain events and outcomes varied. The region of East Anglia, which coincidentally was from where Cromwell hailed, was relatively unscathed whilst in Yorkshire, the

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[22] Quoted in Carlton 146.
[23] Quoted in Carlton 146.
[24] Quoted in Carlton 146.

southern Midlands and parts of Cornwall conflict was endemic. In 1644 the city of York, the principal Royalist base in the north, was subjected to a siege of almost three months. Ashe desperately hoped that:

> [t]he Lord affect us with the sad fruits of wasting warres and speedily and mercifully end our combustions which are carried on with high sinnes and heavy desolations. Truly my heart sometimes is ready to breake with what I see here.[25]

At the cathedral however, events at the city walls were prompting some moving music. In *Musick's Monument* (1676) Thomas Mace (?1612-?1706) recollected that:

> there was then a most *Excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-Organ*.... This *Organ* ... being let out, into all its *Fulness of Stops*, together with the *Quire*, began the *Psalm*. But when That *Vast-Conchording-Unity* of the whole *Congregational-Chorus*, came (as I may say) *Thundering in*, even so, as it made the very *Ground shake* under us; (*Oh the unutterable ravishing Soul's delight*!) In which I was so *transported*, and wrapt up into my *whole Man, viz. Body, Soul* and *Spirit*, for any thing below *Divine* and *Heavenly Raptures*; Nor could there possibly be any *Thing* in *Earth*, to which *That* very *Singing* might be truly compar'd.[26]

With the Parliamentarian army significantly bolstered by the Solemn League and Covenant and resultant alliance with the Scots, the singing of psalms in York Minster must have been an isolated bright spot in an otherwise dismal environment.

For a city under siege, conditions could be appalling. Further east at Scarborough:

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[25] Quoted in Schama 145.

[26] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 1676, fac. ed., 2 vols., (Paris: *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 1958-66), vol. 1, 19.

> [h]alf the soldiers on either side died from the fighting or from scurvy. Few of the survivors could stand. They lacked the strength to bury corpses, which lay around for days, or to grind corn, further adding to the dead. When the defenders eventually surrendered in July 1645 only a third of them could walk out on their own.[27]

Granted, events at Scarborough were one of the worst instances of the Civil War, but it was certainly not the only incidence of widespread death, severe malnutrition and sheer exhaustion. The English civil wars were an environment in which medical attention and surgical knowledge were limited. In crowed army camps in which cold earth replaced shelter and food was sometimes scarce, escape from diseases such as typhoid, cholera, bubonic plague and other forms of "camp fever" was frequently a matter of luck. If wounded, either in battle or as the result of an accident, which with rudimentary firearms and blasé attitudes towards gunpowder was disturbingly common, the onset of infection was almost guaranteed. For the rank and file in particular, opportunities for obtaining immediate medical attention were limited – surgeons were few in number, poorly paid and often lacking equipment.[28] The rise of the Parliamentarian New Model Army in 1645 with its (not always fulfilled) promise of ready supplies in return for clear objectives and high morale improved conditions for some, but simply could not alter the harsh circumstances of mid-seventeenth-century warfare. The life of a soldier was rarely easy.

Civilians were also deeply affected by the conflict – starved as their towns were besieged, robbed of their possessions and forced to provide food and lodgings for the local military presence. Neither side was a consistent model of

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[27] Carlton 157.

[28] See Barbara Donagan, "The Casualties of War: Treatment of the Dead and Wounded in the English Civil War," *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998) 114-32.

exemplary military behaviour and looting was rife. In less than two weeks the Royalists managed to coerce £687 worth from the small Somerset village of Brent Knoll whilst:

> [t]he virgins in *Norwich*, hearing of the Cavaliers' violent outrages committed upon their sex wheresoever they get the victory, are so sensible of their reputations, that they have readily contributed so much money as has raised and armed a goodly troop of horse for their defence, which is called the Maiden Troop.[29]

As far as looting was concerned, the Parliamentarian did much of the same. Their pillage of cathedrals was almost legendary.[30] In 1645 their allies the Scots acquired around £30 000 worth of goods from Hereford and surrounding regions.[31] When the royalists surrendered in 1646, civilians around the nation must surely have breathed a sigh of relief.

The Civil War, at least in its first instalment, may have ended but universal peace was not forthcoming. In 1646, Charles attempted to escape Britain disguised as a commoner, ended up in the hands of the Scots, then the New Model Army and, after escaping briefly and being recaptured, was imprisoned on the Isle of Wight where he remained for just over a year. In January 1649 Parliament tried the King for the "treasonous" behaviour that had led to and fed the English Civil Wars and at the end of the month he was duly beheaded outside the Banqueting House in Whitehall. From 1646 to 1649 the fate of Charles had been a topic of substantial debate. Still desperately clinging to the notion of the

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[29] Carlton, *Going to the Wars* 286. This would have a modern value of around £74 000, "How Much is That Worth Today?" *Economic History Services*, http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/, 8th April 2003; Nehemiah Wallington, *Historical Notices of Events Occurring Chiefly in the Reign of Charles I*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1869) 171.

[30] See Chapter Two, pp.80-81 and Chapter Three, pp.106-107.

[31] Carlton 276. The modern value would be approximately £3 240 000. "How Much is That Worth Today?"

absolute monarch with a divine right to rule, the King had shown little interest in negotiating. Yet Parliament had also had other issues to contend with. The institution that had done so much for their military victory in 1646 – the New Model Army – was in 1647 beginning to turn on them. The ever-present threat soon calmed but the point had been made – the opinions of men such as Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), Henry Ireton (1611-51) and others from various army factions could not be ignored. In the end a "Commonwealth" was declared. With the monarchy and then the House of Lords abolished, government was left in the hands of the Commons. From "the First Year of Freedom by God's blessing restored 1648" as it was described on the official Parliamentary stamp, Britain entered the unchartered territory of republican rule.[32]

Despite this however, care must be taken not to superimpose modern theory onto seventeenth-century practice. Britain's new government was, in the varying modern sense of the word, far from democratic. In November 1648, in an attempt to quell opposition Cromwell, whose power was steadily growing, had the army "escort" over a hundred members out of Parliament. In protest, another 160 refused to enter the chamber. The result was the "Rump Parliament," a body of around sixty left to govern the country. For Evelyn, this was not a favourable state of affairs. In January 1660, at the end of exclusive Parliamentary rule and on the eve of the Restoration, he was pleased to report that:

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[32] Quoted in Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth 1649-1653*, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997) 94.

> that nest of robbers, & convenes the old Parliament, the rump-parliament (so cal'ed as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved; and for joy whereoff, were many thousands of rumps, roasted publiquely in the Streets at the Bonfires this night, with ringing of bells, & universal jubilee: this was the first good omen.[33]

In addition to the monarchy and House of Lords, the Rump also dismantled institutions such as the Privy Council, Star Chamber and Courts of the Exchequer and Admiralty. Britain's form of government was rapidly changing.

Not surprisingly, the administrative changes of the late 1640s roused significant levels of criticism. Thomas Hobbes stated that:

> A *Common-wealth by Acquisition*, is that, where the Soveraign Power is acquired by Force; And it is acquired by force, when men singly, or many together by plurality of voices, for fear of death, or bonds, do authorise all the actions of that Man, or Assembly, that hath their lives and liberty in his Power. And this kind of Dominion, or Soveraignty, differeth from Soveraignty by Insitution, onely in this, That men who choose their Soveraign, do it for fear of one another, and not of him whom they Institute: But in this case, they subject themselves, to him they are afraid of. In both cases they do it for fear: which is to be noted by them, that hold all such Covenants, as proceed from fear of death, or violence, voyd: which if it were true, no man, in any kind of Common-wealth, could be obliged to Obedience.[34]

Hobbes was not the only one disappointed with the Commonwealth. Variants of opposition were numerous, but one of the largest groups were the "Levellers" for whom the basic goal was increased male suffrage and a Parliament more representative of the people. As the movement increasingly became a threat the Commonwealth jailed its leaders and banned its gatherings. With the future Charles II arriving in Scotland in an unsuccessful attempt to move south and claim his English throne, the government was taking no chances. Uprisings in Scotland and Ireland had been instrumental in the lead-up to the Civil War of

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[33] Evelyn 404.
[34] Hobbes 138-39.

1642 where they had worked against the policies of intentions of Charles I. In the early 1650s insurgencies both places were viciously suppressed.

Cromwell too was finding fault with the Rump Parliament, most notably in its quest for greater power and privilege. The final result was a *coup d'état* – on 20th April 1653 he stormed into the chamber with an armed entourage, dissolved Parliament and ordered the House to be cleared. Its immediate replacement was an even smaller grouping of "exemplary Puritan citizens." When Cromwell disbanded this later in the year, for much the same reasons as the Rump Parliament, the result was beginning to look increasingly similar to the system the Commonwealth had replaced. On 16th December 1653 he was sworn in as "Lord Protector" and, although he had rejected the title of "King," the job description was much the same. Just as it had under Charles I in 1629, Britain was entering a period of essentially autocratic rule. The cast may have been different and the scenery changed, but the underlying plot was disturbingly similar. Just as it had been with Charles I, the later years of Cromwell's rule were characterised by increasing financial pressures – a problem fuelled, in both cases, by over enthusiastic military spending. The army had been pivotal in getting Cromwell in power and, lest he be overthrown in a *coup*, his political survival necessitated keeping the military in check. Needless to say, war with the Dutch worsened the monetary situation. With the death of Cromwell and September 1648 the return of the monarchy was becoming closer and closer.

Cromwell's successor, his elder son Richard, lasted only six months before he abdicated under the very real threat of military insurrection. He was replaced

by the Rump Parliament that his father and the military had ousted six years earlier. In another quasi-repeat of history, the administration descended into the unceasing debates and surges for power that had characterised the late 1640s and early 1650s. As time went on, it became increasingly apparent that some kind of overseeing political leader was needed, whether in the form of a "Lord Protector" like Oliver Cromwell or a sovereign such as the second Charles Stuart. In a wave of growing popular discontent with Parliament and its failure to universally endorse a suitable successor to Cromwell, the way for Charles II was becoming clearer. On 29th May 1660 the new King entered London:

> with a Triumph of above 20 000 horse & foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with unexpressable joy: The wayes staw'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with Tapissry, fountains running with wine: The Major, Aldermen, all the Companies in their livers [liveries], Chaines of Gold, banners; Lords & nobles, Cloth of Silver, gold & velvet every body clad in, the windos [*sic.*] & balconies all set with Ladys, Trumpets, Musick, & and myriads of people flocking the streetes ... . I stood in the strand, & beheld it, & blessed God: And all this without one drop of bloud, & by that very army, which rebell'd against him.[35]

Yet this was not so much a turning point in history as it was a continuation. Despite the turbulent political climate of the 1640s and 1650s, or indeed of any other period, humanity continued on regardless. That English music was affected by the events of the mid seventeenth century cannot be doubted but, given the existence of music across so many times, places, environments and societies, its cultivation throughout the Civil War and Interregnum period was always well assured.

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[35] Evelyn 406.

Chapter Two
"The Architects of Time:"
The Historiographical Creation of
Mid-Seventeenth-Century English Music

The simple gifts of music history – the recognition of composers, the awareness of an output and a sense of contribution towards a greater artistic good – have not generally been bestowed on the music of Civil War and Interregnum England. In a land all too frequently seen as having provided little to the sum total of Western music history, the period has for centuries been openly condemned or swept into a dark corner, lest it should in any way detract from the finer hours of English music. Within the immediate chronological neighbourhood, the years from *c.*1620 to *c.*1670 have largely been overshadowed by the towering prominence of Byrd and, to an even greater extent, Purcell. In contrast, these intervening years produced no "great composer" to present to the musicological canon. Nor has the position of mid-seventeenth-century English music been helped by the political circumstances of the time. The 1640s and 1650s witnessed the demise, temporarily as it turned out, of the long-standing monarchy and its replacement by a parliamentary administration with an alternative interpretation of true Christianity. Unfortunately, the traditional historiographical perception of this religious option has not been favourable. The Puritans, with their destruction of organs, strong repression of church music and bans on the theatre, have repeatedly been accused of inflicting severe damage on English musical culture and development. Three hundred and fifty years on, the almost continual supply of such sentiments has played a major role in the historiographical creation of the period's music.

This perceived anti-music stance on behalf of the Puritans, combined with their supposed avoidance of public enjoyment, has done virtually nothing to advocate the place of mid-seventeenth-century English music within the prominent evolutionary construction of music history. This was further enhanced by the emphasis during this period on music in the domestic sphere, a repertoire that holds little weight in a musicological canon that generally favours larger and more conspicuous works. Given that the major contribution of the seventeenth century was generally considered to have been the development of opera, a process in which England played little part, it was not surprising that English music before Purcell was largely excluded from this dominant progressive interpretation. Such factors have done much to disparage and marginalise the music of Caroline, Commonwealth and early Restoration England. The fixed and unrelenting nature of this prescribed image has ensured that, even in the later nineteenth century and well into the twentieth when interest in English music was to some extent reawakened, the historiographical treatment of the period remained largely static. This chapter will assess the extent of these perceptions, examine the role of historiography in the creation of the period and in doing so provide a springboard from which to launch an objective study of music during Civil War and Interregnum England. Only by appreciating and understanding the historiographical construct of the period can its traditionally maligned image be accurately reassessed.

A typical account of English music history during the seventeenth century can be seen in the writings of the British musicologist Edmund Horace Fellowes (1870-1951). In discussing the music of Byrd, Fellowes observed that:

> [a]s we look back upon the history of English music we seem to see, beyond the almost barren plains of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two distant ranges of mountains. The nearer of the two represents the Restoration school, in which the work of Purcell stands out as the most conspicuous peak; and in the farther distance we see that higher and wider range which we recognize as the Tudor school, and here the work of Byrd has the chief prominence.[1]

Such sentiments are not surprising. The Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods were, at least for Fellowes and many of his contemporaries, a golden age in English music.[2] Not so the 1620s and 1630s. William Byrd and Thomas Weelkes, the final years of the latter racked by alcoholism, both died in 1623. Two years later Gibbons fatally succumbed to an apoplectic fit whilst at Canterbury for the reception of Henrietta Maria into Britain and John Bull, forced to flee England on account of adultery, died at Antwerp in 1628. The bleak picture continued into the field of lute song with the deaths of Thomas Campion and John Dowland in 1620 and 1626 respectively. One of the few exceptions to this multiple obituary was Thomas Tomkins who lived well into the 1650s, yet even then his final decades produced limited compositional output. As Fellowes made clear, with the accession of Charles I the English Renaissance was essentially finished.[3]

At the other end of the period stands the notable work of the Restoration composers – Matthew Locke (*c.*1621-1677), John Blow (1649-1708) and Henry

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[1] Edmund H. Fellowes, "William Byrd (1543-1623)," *The Heritage of Music*, 2 vols, ed. Hubert J. Foss, (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1934) 1.

[2] Such attitudes can also be clearly seen in Eric Blom, *Music in England* (West Drayton, Middlesex: Penguin, 1942) and Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (New York: Da Capo, 1969).

[3] This is not to suppose for a moment that the Caroline period was devoid of valuable contributions. The royal musical establishment grew in number after the accession of Charles I and increased further with the addition of Henrietta Maria's entourage in 1625. As the court masques and consort music of the late 1620s and 1630s testify, it was by no means a desolate period. See Jonathan P. Wainwright, "The King's Music," *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999) 162-75.

Purcell (1659-95). Of the three, Purcell undoubtedly stands out as a giant figure in the history of English music. The quantity and quality of his *oeuvre* ensure posterity. The polished court odes, sublime sacred music and theatre works have few comparisons, even amongst his competent contemporaries. For English music he was, as the composer and organist Thomas Tudway (*c.*1650-1726) enthusiastically declared, "confessedly the greatest Genius we ever had."[4] Included in the last of six volumes of cathedral and Chapel Royal music compiled by Tudway during the early eighteenth century, a small portion of Tudway's praise must be attributed to a truly favourable opinion of a wonderful composer with whom he might have been personally acquainted.[5] Even allowing for this however, the quality of value of Purcell's work and the sincerity of Tudway's assessments, cannot be doubted – he was simply reflecting general opinion and commenting favourably on a very important and talented composer. Such sentiments have continued through to the present day. In his biography of the composer published in 1967, Franklin B. Zimmerman lamented the death of Purcell as a time when:

> the great promise of new aesthetic foundations for English music and the bright hopes for its future which he had helped his fellow Englishmen to glimpse were now forever lost.[6]

It seemed that nothing, either from before or afterwards, could ever equal "our incomparable Orpheus Britannicus."[7]

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[4] British Museum, MS Harl. 7342, fo.12. This is the last of a set of six volumes of cathedral music and Chapel Royal repertoire prepared by Tudway for Robert, Lord Harley, and later Earl of Oxford.

[5] If Purcell and Tudway were at all acquainted it would probably have been through the Chapel Royal. Tudway was a chorister there until 1668 and Purcell, who had also been a Chapel Royal chorister, remained in the royal musical establishment until his death in 1695.

[6] Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: His Life and Times*, (London: Macmillan, 1967) 269.

[7] Peter Pears, "Homage to the British Orpheus," *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: Essays on his Life and Music*, ed. Imogen Holst, (London: OUP, 1959) 6.

Although these opinions are not harmful in themselves, and the contribution of Purcell cannot be doubted, it is nevertheless dangerous "to place him on a lonely pedestal" and ignore the music of his predecessors.[8] Yet this is exactly what has happened. The attitude that "[a]fter the Elizabethans, the greatest figure in the world of music in England is Purcell" has prevailed the interim period.[9] Possessing this mindset, several writers have chosen to soar over the time as quickly as possible, only glancing down occasionally to receive a cloudy view of what might be going on at ground level. Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth in *A History of Music* (1933) virtually bypass the entire period, save for a single mention of John Jenkins (1592-1675).[10] After the Elizabethan age their main focus was Henry Purcell. Decades later, in one of the most well-known and commonly used texts for music history, *A History of Western Music* (1960) by Donald J. Grout, English music of the Civil War and Interregnum period was barely mentioned.[11] For many there was little, if anything, worth saying about the music of mid-seventeenth-century England. Yet this lack of inclusion in "encompassing" works was not solely the fault of the authors or their publishers. On the contrary, it was part of a much wider scenario that has for decades and centuries affected large tracts of Western music history.

Within the context of musicology, these sentiments support strong disciplinary structures. The comments of Fellowes are taken from his contribution to *The Heritage of Music*, a collection of "great composer" essays to

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[8] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music, Volume 1: From the Beginnings to c.1715*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 504.
[9] W.R. Anderson, *The Musical Companion: A Compendium for all Lovers of Music*, ed. A.L. Bacharach, (London: Gollancz, 1934) 575.
[10] Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth, *A History of Music*, (London: Macmillan, 1933) 217.
[11] Donald J. Grout, *A History of Western Music*, (New York: Norton, 1960) 299; See also Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 6th ed., (New York: Norton, 2001).

which England has little to supply between the lifetimes of Byrd and Purcell. By focusing on the mountains, valleys such as mid-seventeenth-century England are all too easily neglected – the notion of the "great composer" is a pivotal component of traditional musicology. Given this, such intense focus on Purcell, and to a lesser extent Byrd, was understandable. It adhered to the composer-orientated tendencies of *Musikwissenschaft* whilst simultaneously providing England with a "great composer" to contribute to the discipline. In the case of English music, in particular, "great composer" candidates are somewhat limited, with basically no contenders for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in what was, undoubtedly, a fairly large field. This dearth, so disabling in an environment where "great composers" are considered a vital musical credential, leaves England frequently seen as having almost nothing to contribute to European musical culture. This in turn makes the situation of Albion even more desperate and the value of composers such as Dunstable, Byrd and Purcell far higher. Suddenly, England has some hard currency for the musicological market and a commodity with which it can trade, perhaps not quite in the domain of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven, but certainly not far beneath. With two strong market forces bordering mid-seventeenth-century England, the resultant neglect of this period is particularly severe.

For all the damage it may do to marginalised periods, the "great composer" phenomenon remains a dominant element of historical musicology. Yet this ideal of *Musikwissenschaft* represents the superimposition of a later concept onto an earlier age. As Weber has declared:

> [t]he notion of the 'great composer' is so engrained in modern musical culture that we use the terms instinctively for any period. ... By smuggling them back into the past, we blind ourselves to the particular ways in which people respected either living or dead musicians for their work.[12]

For instance the modern perception of Franz Schubert all to easily overshadows the reception he received during his lifetime. Armed with his entire surviving output, recorded and literary exposure, and status as a "great composer," the fact that Schubert was frequently in financial difficulties, lived off the support of friends and relatives and was little known outside of Vienna becomes of secondary importance.

At the other end of the spectrum was the experience of Henry Bishop (1786-1855), a now largely forgotten composer who during his lifetime was sometimes considered to be the English equivalent to Mozart, a comparison partly due to the fact that both composers produced a setting of *The Marriage of Figaro*.[13] Of course Bishop did not turn out to be a "great composer," or at least not one regarded so by posterity, and certainly no equal to Mozart, but his contemporaries saw it differently. Whilst Bishop and Schubert were two more extreme examples, they were by no means the only ones. For almost a century after his death most of the music of J.S. Bach lay in oblivion and Mozart could never obtain the sort of court employment he desired. Yet the pianist-composer Václov Jan Tomášek (1774-1850), considered one of the greatest Czech composers of the nineteenth century, is today seldom mentioned outside some

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[12] William Weber, "The History of Musical Canon," *Rethinking Music*, ed. N. Cook and M. Everist, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 338.

[13] Bishop's version, which drew heavily on the work of Mozart, was premiered at Covent Garden on 6th March 1819. See George Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Musical Drama*, 2 vols, vol. 2, (London: Richard Bentley, 1851) 367.

pianistic circles.[14] "Great composers" may have been "great," but by blatantly applying the concept to any time and place the links between an individual and their generation become lost beneath layers of modern perception.

There are numerous reasons as to why historiography elevates some composers and neglects others. In many cases subjective judgements of musical quality as well as, it be argued, objective assessments, are paramount. Yet this does not take into account the many other factors that contribute to the creation of music history. The attitudes towards, and expectations of, women in earlier centuries have resulted in the oversight of many female composers and performers. Recent decades have seen efforts to rectify this situation. Some composers now considered "great," such as Beethoven and especially Schubert, received a limited reception during their lifetime whilst interest in others, such as Salieri, has only increased in recent decades. Such assessments, and re-assessments, are largely brought about by a variety of social, political and cultural factors rather than from judgements of the music itself. Fashion plays a part in this process, as does awareness, but the specifics of historiographical assessment are unique to each place and period. In regard the music of the English Civil War and Interregnum many of the socio-political contributors, amongst them feminism and an increased interest in those associated with "great composers," that might have improved its status have not been forthcoming.

For the period under examination this consideration is particularly important. In addition to its lack of a "great composer," the musical environment

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[14] See Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms, 1846-99*, trans. Henry Pleasants, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1950) 18.

of mid-seventeenth-century England contrasts strongly with the preferred repertoire forms of mainstream musicological construction. Put differently, a large percentage of this music was intended for domestic use and the enjoyment of its performers and immediate listeners, rather than for the entertainment of sizeable audiences or a modern concept of posterity. Such performance practices and musical climates necessitate the closer examination of more minor figures – the idea of a "great composer" leaving behind their *opus perfectum et absolutum* simply does not apply.[15] By ignoring these conditions, or by not adapting the place of the composer to correspond with them, the essence of seventeenth-century English music becomes far more difficult to extract and the influence of Byrd and Purcell overwhelm all that is around them.

Inextricably intertwined with the phenomenon of the "great composer" are the equally powerful concepts of *Rezeptionsgeschichte* and *Wirkungsgeschichte* – the subsequent history of a repertoire.[16] *Musikwissenschaft* is not an all-encompassing envelopment of past music. It is an exclusive set of works and composers collated into an almost impenetrable concept commonly referred to as the "the repertoire." There can be no doubt that:

> [m]usic history deals with a canon of musical works which historians concede as 'belonging to history,' not in the weak sense of merely having once existed and exercised an influence, but in the strong sense of towering above the debris otherwise left behind by the past.[17]

From a repertoire perspective, music history has tended to favour large-scale, multi-movement works, of which the period under consideration displays a

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[15] The concept of *opus perfectum et absolutum* is discussed in Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1992) 23-24.
[16] See Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J.B. Robinson, (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).
[17] Dahlhaus 92.

different understanding. Whilst there exist pieces such as the *Royal Consort in D Minor* by William Lawes (1602-45), containing fantasias, corants and sarabands, it must be stressed that these "movements" are more the result of a deliberate grouping of free-standing works on the basis of tonality, rather than the consciously created components of a larger work.

Similarly the character of English drama resulted in the creation of a different, less grandiose, form of theatre music than in Italy and other parts of the continent. Works such as Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) or *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642) were without contemporary English equivalents. The court masques of the Caroline period and theatrical productions of the Commonwealth may well have provided entertainment to their respective English audiences, but within the wider musicological canon their impact was limited. As with much of the mid-seventeenth-century repertoire – it simply did not cultivate the forms considered important by music historiography. The results, as far as *Rezeptionsgeschichte* and *Wirkungsgeschichte* were concerned, have been harsh. Without any prominent reference points, without a "great composer" or famous work by a lesser known composer, to tower "above the debris otherwise left behind by the past" much, if not all, of this music lies outside the musicological canon. The result is a consignment to near oblivion.[18]

The emphasis upon domestic music during the Civil War and Interregnum has done little to endear the period to the mainstream repertoire. This is not surprising given the general preference of historical musicology to concentrate on

[18] Dahlhaus 92.

larger works in the public view, rather than more intimate compositions performed in private or semi-private settings. However, the trend is not universal. In the Romantic period for instance, great importance has been given to chamber music, lieder and domestic piano music as well as to orchestral works and opera. The fundamental difference between the mainstream, mainly Germanic music history of the nineteenth century, and peripheral, frequently ignored music history of mid-seventeenth-century England lies in the recurring phenomenon of the "great composer." For the Romantic period, smaller forms are elevated by the names of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Liszt, Brahms and others. In the case of many composers just outside the realm of "international musical stardom," their status cannot quite over-ride the musicological preference for larger works. For instance considerably less is heard of say, the piano works of Jean Sibelius, whereas his symphonies and orchestral suites are very much part of the repertoire. For a period such as Civil War and Interregnum England, where domestic music forms a high percentage of the total repertoire, and without a major composer to provide alternative support, the result is bleak.

Whilst this "great composers and works" emphasis is an underlying component of much music history, cognisance of alternative approaches must also be demonstrated. Recent decades have seen a substantial increase in interest regarding composers not generally considered to be "first rank" and in the lesser-known works of more famous composers. Such work has also complemented, and added to, examination of the domestic repertoire. As mentioned earlier, this has been especially prevalent in regard to the Romantic era, but has also been demonstrated in other periods of music history as well. Most chronologically

relevant to the music of mid-seventeenth-century England has been consideration of the madrigal genre – a form very much within the domestic repertoire but nevertheless accorded a significant position in Western music history. Interest in smaller scale forms from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods has also included the solo lute song repertoire of John Dowland the keyboard music of William Byrd. As demonstrated by this and research into the chamber music of Mozart and Beethoven, interest in more intimate forms has, at least in some circles, been significant. Unfortunately for the music of Civil War and Interregnum England however this improved status has not been universal.

The shortcomings of England in the "great composer" and repertoire categories have in many respects decimated national confidence in actively promoting their music history. This lack of self-esteem has in turn been maintained, and exacerbated, by the strong and prevailing concept of England as "*das Land ohne Musik.*" First appearing in a book of the same title (1904) by the German scholar Oscar Adolf Herman Schmitz (1873-1931), the phrase has found currency in many later writings, either in the literal sense or as an element of more liberal interpretations.[19] For England, it seemed that its status as "*das Land ohne Musik*" had much to do with national character. Schmitz explained it as follows:

> [t]he English have never had the ambition of being first and foremost a cultured nation. In so far as they desire to spread things of the mind at all, that task is carried out by their missionaries, whose activity has this of practical value, that it paves the way for the commercial conquest of extra-European countries. What they desire to spread is not culture, but civilisation: that is to say, a commodity. Mind is only encouraged in so far as it produces new demands which may be satisfied by British goods.[20]

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[19] Oscar A.H. Schmitz, *The Land without Music*, trans. Hans Herzl, (London: Jarrolds, 1925).
[20] Schmitz 35.

Even in the climate of the early twentieth century when Anglo-German relations were not at their healthiest, the sentiments espoused in *Das Land ohne Musik* in many instances displayed a high degree of respect and admiration:

> [f]rom no people can one learn more, for most English accomplishments are rather the results of Will and Reason than of specific endowment. They seem almost inexhaustible, and none is more easily refuted than the man who endeavours to find fault with the English.[21]

He may have supplied the phrase "*das Land ohne Musik*" and in doing so contributed to the concept, but Schmitz was also of the opinion that "[n]owhere ... [was] music more highly esteemed than in England."[22] The foundation of the "*das Land ohne Musik*" phrase may have been German but the maintenance and continuation of the attitude was undoubtedly English.[23]

Although not verbalised until the early twentieth century, the notion of England as a land devoid of musical art stretched well back into the 1800s – Schmitz was not the first to espouse such sentiments. In a book of 1871 entitled *Music and Morals*, the Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis declared that:

> [t]he English are not a musical people, and the English are not an artistic people. But the English are more artistic than musical; that is to say, they have produced better artists than musicians. A country is not musical or artistic when you can get its people to look at pictures or listen to music, but when its people are themselves composers and artists. It cannot affirmed that Englishmen are, or ever were, either one or the other. ... Music in England has always been an exotic, and whenever the exotic seed has escaped and grown wild on English soil, the result has not been a stable and continuous growth. The Reformation music was all French and Italian; the Restoration music (1650) [*sic.*], half French and half German. No one will deny that Tallis, Farrant, Byrd, in church music – Morley, Ward, Wilbye in the madrigal, made a most original use of their materials; but the materials were foreign.[24]

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[21] Schmitz 13.
[22] Schmitz 17.
[23] Interestingly, elements of "*Das Land ohne Musik*" can also be seen in some German writings, particularly in regard to the eighteenth century when the emphasis was placed squarely on French and Italian musical influences.
[24] H.R. Haweis, *Music and Morals*, (London: Allen, 1871) 483-84.

Well into the twentieth century, and contemporaneous with the release of the English translation of *Das Land ohne Musik*, the sentiment still prevailed. In attempting to ascertain how it was:

> that we did not ... develop an English form of opera in which Jonson and Shakespeare might have collaborated with Douland [*sic.*] and Wilbye,

Edward J. Dent concluded that:

> [t]he answer lies simply in our national attitude towards music. ... Music for the Italian is the exaggeration of personality – for the Englishman its annihilation.[25]

England may have supported music and musicians, imported extensively from abroad and at times provided suitable ground for compositional creativity and development, but a national music proved elusive. It seemed that the English simply did not possess the character, mindset or sentiment to become avid musical producers.

The power and prevalence of "*das Land ohne Musik*" has in turn fed a particularly unique aspect of British music history writing. In stark contrast with the music scholarship of other European nations such as France, Italy and Germany, that of Britain frequently displays an astute mix of counter-patriotism and Germanophilia. In the absence of extensive repertoire and "great composer" candidates, and in the face of attitudes espoused by Schmitz and others, British writers have tended to de-emphasise the musical contributions of their own nation in order to adhere to traditional musicological conventions. Authors such as Henry Cope Colles in *The Growth of Music: A Study in Musical History* (1912), Robert Stevenson in *Music Before the Classic Era: An Introductory Guide* (1955)

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[25] Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England During the Seventeenth Century*, 1928, rpt., (New York: Da Capo, 1965) 2.

and Jack Westrup in *An Introduciton to Musical History* (1955), give surprisingly limited attention to their nation's music.[26] Neither did Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth when they noted:

> that in English musical history there has always been a certain want of continuity. The national character, violently bent on exteriorising its energies abroad, has once or twice produced single great musicians or groups of great musicians. But these masters seem to have made their appearance in spite of, not in consequence of, the national character. There was such a group at the beginning of the fifteenth century; a similar group – the madrigalists and church composers of the sixteenth century; then Purcell in the seventeenth – a solitary genius born out of his time; then nothing till the renaissance in 1870.[27]

English music history, with its dearth of great works and great composers, lack of "continuity" and displacement against the national character, possessed few assets to endear itself to Anglophile writers. The result has been the reverent worship of foreign, and particularly German, music rather than extensive support for British musical products.

On another, more complex, plane was the difficult situation of where to place foreign musicians living in England. In the absence of fixed nationality, they do not fit neatly onto the musicological landscape. This was best exemplified by the most famous musical immigrant into England, George Frederick Handel (1685-1759). So important is the contribution of Handel, and so strong is the notion of the "great composer," that England has little choice but to try and incorporate him into its music history. The question is how and as what? George Grove tackled the problem by noting that:

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[26] Henry Cope Colles, *The Growth of Music: A Study in Musical History*, 1912, 3rd ed., rev. Eric Blom, (London: Oxford UP, 1956); Robert Stevenson, *Music Before the Classic Era: An Introductory Guide*, 1955, rpt, (London: Macmillan, 1962); Jack Westrup, *An Introduction to Musical History*, (London: Hutchinson, 1955).

[27] Stanford and Forsyth 146-47.

> [t]here is something expressly English in Handel's characteristics. His size, his large appetite, his great writing, his domineering temper, his humour, his power of business, are all our own. ... In fact he pre-eminently belongs to England. ... Abroad, he is little known, and that mostly as a curiosity.[28]

Were Handel an English-born composer and so easily included in English musical history such sincere, and at times desperrate, justifications would not be necessary. However his birth in the German state of Saxe-Weissenfels, residence in England from 1712 and naturalisation as a British citizen in 1727 makes his nationality, and therefore perceived loyalty in the realm of music history, difficult to determine. Handel was of course not the only composer in this situation, but he was certainly the most famous, and musicologically the most valuable.

For English music history, Handel's decision to settle and work in England represents both an advantage and disadvantage. On the plus side it stimulated England's position as a fertile musical climate during the eighteenth century, and provided the island with a potential "great composer" candidate. For better or for worse, it fed the enthusiastic cultivation of choral societies throughout the nineteenth century, and helped to instil an almost cult following of *Messiah* amongst English audiences. Yet in many instances the immense influence of Handel, whether posthumously or during his lifetime, did little to encourage or support native-born composers.[29] The sheer compositional skill of Handel and his success, at least for a time, in the domain of Italianate opera created a situation in which many English productions were simply unable to compete for this specific

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[28] George Grove, "Handel," *Chambers' Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*, 10 vols., 1888-92, vol. 5, (London: William & Robert Chambers, 1890) 542.

[29] The main exception to this trend was undoubtedly *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) by John Gay and with music composed and compiled by John Pepusch which achieved long-lasting success in its satirisation of contemporary Italian opera and partially contributed to the demise of Handel's Royal Academy of Music.

audience. The immense value of Handel and the tendency of music history to concentrate heavily on the tastes of royalty and the extreme upper echelons of society has resulted in his contribution, rather than those of his English-born contemporaries, dominating many later perceptions of English music.[30]

In a musicological context, the difficult to determine status of Handel places England in a tricky position. They have a major composer who is only partly theirs and the development of a national genre, the English oratorio, primarily cultivated by this "semi-British" figure. A further dimension is added by the accession of Handel's former employer, the Elector of Hanover, to the English throne in 1714 – unable to supply heirs to the throne or composers such as Handel, England is forced to import.[31] The very bastion of musical nationalism crumbles under this reputation. British writers traditionally submit to this mindset by devaluing their own music, and placing even greater emphasis on the achievements of George Frederick Handel. The music of mid-seventeenth-century England suffers from two angles. Firstly, on account of being English it falls victim to this uneasy anti-nationalist sentiment – for instance the music of the Civil War and Interregnum was certainly nothing to be proud of. Secondly, the difficult nationality of Handel makes composers such as Byrd, Purcell and Dunstable even more important and the periods around them even less noticeable.

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[30] Italian opera was primarily enjoyed by the aristocracy, nobility and upper classes of London. Its appeal to less privileged sections of the population and its availability to audiences outside the capital was extremely limited. For a detailed account of English theatre music during the 1700s see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 1973, 2nd ed, (Oxford: OUP, 1986).

[31] Despite dying childless Queen Anne (r.1702-14) endured a total of eighteen known pregnancies in an attempt to produce an heir. Of these all but one ended in miscarriage, stillbirth or the death of a child in infancy. The exception was William, Duke of Gloucester who died five days after his eleventh birthday.

In the biography-dominated climate of traditional musicology, the shining lights of music history direct its relentless march through the centuries.

This acceptance of and adherence to the "*das Land ohne Musik*" mindset co-existed, particularly in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, with the strengthening influence of musical nationalism. Naturally, such patriotic elements were not an isolated phenomena limited only to the field of music. Across Europe nationalism was becoming an increasingly powerful force, fuelling revolutions, insurrections, the emergence of nations and the disintegration of empires. The 1830s and 1840s witnessed a spate of revolutions across Europe, from Antwerp to Athens, Bucharest to Budapest, and Paris to Prague. The modern states of Germany and Italy both emerged in the 1870s, brought about by the unification of numerous principalities on the basis of similar language and culture. Norway seceded from Sweden in 1905 and Finland from Russia in 1917 and, after a long struggle, Bohemia finally won independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. Across the North Sea and English Channel reassessments were taking place. Unlike its continental neighbours, Britain managed to observe rather than directly participate in the uprisings that in many respects came to characterise the period. To be sure, there were domestic issues and concerns to be addressed – the excesses of the industrial revolution, Church divisions brought about by the Oxford movement, and the perpetual instability of Ireland – but generally these were discussed through heated debate rather addressed with armed conflict. For many Britons, particularly those of privilege and power, there was little incentive to undermine economic production with the disturbances of a revolution.

In an age during which Britannia rose to become a superpower and rule not only the waves but also half of the world's population, it was little wonder that the nation should have begun to question its musical condemnation and develop an appropriate response. For Britain this was characterised by two separate but intimately entwined movements, the English Musical Renaissance and the Early Music Revival. The issue of nomenclature becomes immediately apparent – the nationalist expression of British musical merit was inextricably entangled with English patriotism. For much of the nation's musical history the dilemma of Britain versus England has become a proverbial historiographical "thorn in the side." The almost universal transferability of "England" and "Britain" from the uniting of the kingdom until well into the twentieth century has sowed successive seeds of confusion and misunderstanding.[32]

Schmitz had referred to England as "*das Land ohne Musik*" but had he also meant Scotland, Wales and Ireland? If the increased support for native composers and musical products really was an "English Musical Renaissance" did it matter that two of its principal proponents, Alexander Mackenzie (1847-1935) and Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), were Scottish and Irish respectively? Was it important that interest in "English" folk music unashamedly ventured beyond the Tweed River, Irish Sea and Welsh border? For many such issues were of little concern. Despite its title, *A History of Music in England* (1907) by Ernest Walker nevertheless included a significant consideration of Irish, Welsh, Scottish

[32] Officially this took place with the Acts of Union in Wales in 1536 and 1543, the unification of the Scottish and English monarchies in 1603 and Parliaments in 1707 and the Irish Act of Union in 1800. However, in all cases English political influence had been a strong force for centuries before these legislations.

and Manx folk music.[33] Similarly when Walker, Basil Maine and Walter James Turner produced their works on English music history, it was part of a wider British nationalism – a means of displaying the musical achievements of this empire-building nation.[34] The distinction between "England" and "Britain" was rarely clear.

For Walker, Maine, Turner and many of their contemporaries, such matters of geographical labelling were therefore of little importance. Yet they simultaneously contributed to an increasingly centralised historiographical construction in which:

> England ... includes Britain, the lesser envelops the greater, for it is as uncouth to speak of British music as it would be of the British language. The tradition of serious musical composition, as of serious literary composition, is English: the link with Europe is through London and both are disseminated from the capital.[35]

Unlike its continental counterparts, British nationalism had to contend with the challenges of a united kingdom rather a nation formed on an almost exclusive patriotic identity. Possessing the world's largest empire and formed itself from a number of originally independent entities, unbridled nationalism in an age of revolutions was a potentially deadly force. British sentiment for the nation may have been of a similar intensity to that of any other European country, but its unique political construction ensured that patriotism was built along different paradigms and obliged to strike a delicate balance between national pride and imperial prejudice. For music, the avoidance of negative nationalist outcomes

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[33] Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, 1907, 3rd ed., rev. J.A. Westrup, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952) 361-85.
[34] Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, 1907, 3rd ed., rev. J.A. Westrup, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952); Basil Maine, *The Glory of English Music*, (London: Alan Wilmer, 1937); W. J. Turner, *English Music*, (London: William Collins, 1945).
[35] Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1966) 21.

was generally best accomplished by the extensive focus on one of the "nations" of the British Isles, rather than on the United Kingdom as a whole. With England being the dominant political and economic force, it was not surprising that British musical nationalism should have focussed so exclusively, whether deliberately or by default, on English music.

Furthermore, just as England came to be the focal point for British music, so too did London become synonymous with musical development in England. Some of this was demographic – modern Britain was (and is) characterised by a high centralised population – but can also be explained by the musical importance of the English court as a centre of composition, performance, patronage and development. Such emphasis on London being England has sometimes resulted in the experience of the capital, and particularly of the royal musical establishment, being considered representative of the nation as a whole. Nowhere has this been more apparent than in regard to the sacred music of the Elizabethan golden age. Charles Burney and Edward J. Dent both considered English music, and especially English choral music, to be at its highest point during this period, and it was principally the work of Byrd that Fellowes saw as contributing to "that higher and wider [mountain] range which we recognise as the Tudor school."[36] Yet the situation beyond the court was not always as ideal. An examination of a number of cathedrals and churches reveals that the Elizabethan golden age was far from universal. Funds were frequently insufficient for the successful upkeep of an organ or choir, the attendance of choristers and church staff was sometimes lax

[36] Dent 2; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, (1789), (London: Foulis, 1935) 22; Fellowes 1.

and professional conduct was on occasion questionable.[37] The notion of the sixteenth century as a musical golden age may have originally pertained to the royal musical establishment but for activities beyond it boundaries, its accuracy could not always be guaranteed.

For the music of mid-seventeenth-century England British musical nationalism brought both advantages and disadvantages. On one hand the English Musical Renaissance of the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries led to a renewed interest in English music, both in terms of contemporary developments and, more importantly for the period under examination, in early music. On the other hand however, its frequent emphasis on sacred music and the achievements of the sixteenth century contributed strongly to the further condemnation of music during the Civil War and Interregnum period. Whilst elements of British nationalism may have varied from those of other European nations, dominant musicological constructions, with their emphasis on the "great composer" and "the repertoire," nevertheless prevailed. As mentioned earlier, England's best candidates in this regard were Purcell, Byrd and Dunstable. With the nationality of Handel, and indeed Dunstable who spent most of his life on the continent, difficult to determine, Byrd and Purcell came to be even more desirable.[38] In addition, the renewed interest in madrigals and Tudor church music, the latter largely inspired by the Oxford movement (1833-45), quickly labelled the sixteenth century as the golden age of English music.[39] Bordered on one side by

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[37] See Chapter Three, p.151-53.

[38] Dunstable was based at the Burgundian court that during the fifteenth century was centred around the modern-day areas of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and northern France.

[39] The Oxford movement, or Tractarian movement, emerged during the 1830s and 1840s amongst a number of fellows at Oriel College including John Henry Newman (1801-1890), John Keble (1792-1866), Richard Hurrell Froude (1814-1863), Charles Marriott (1811-1863), Edward

Elizabethan artistic achievement and on the other by the immense talent of Henry Purcell, there was never any real chance of mid-seventeenth-century English music receiving an untainted perception. Between the "ranges of mountains" that characterised the Restoration and Tudor schools, hidden plains offered little historiographical competition.[40]

Throughout history assessments are shaped by the time, circumstances and personality under which they are produced and the judgements of Fellowes were no exception. Writing in the early twentieth century, Fellowes was a major figure in the British musicological reassessment and revival of early music, his research concentrating on the sacred and secular music of the sixteenth century. However Fellowes not only studied this music but also actively promoted it – delivering lectures, directing performances and preparing practical editions. It was mainly through his work:

> that a knowledge of this music soon passed into the mainstream of English musical thought.[41]

Indeed his *English Madrigal School* series, comprising thrity-six volumes issued between 1913 and 1924, was the work upon which much of the Anglican Tudor revisitation rested.[42] The production of workable performance editions carried out by Fellowes also included the twenty-volume *Collected Works of William Byrd*

Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), Robert Isaac Wilberforce (1802-1857) and Richard William Church (1815-1890). Its primary aim was to return the Church of England to some of its Catholic origins, a process to be primarily accomplished by a greater emphasis on religious ceremony, a component of which was music, within the service. Yet which these ideas met with some support, they also roused opposition. In this vein the second half of the nineteenth century was frequently characterised by intense advocacies, debates and sometimes riots over what constituted the true nature of the Anglican Church. The variety of Anglican worship prevalent today stems largely from the issues brought forward in Oxford during the mid-nineteenth-century.

[40] Fellowes 1.

[41] Watkins Shaw, "Fellowes, Edmund Horace," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001, 661.

[42] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd ed., (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001) 77.

(1937-50), the thirty-two-volume *English School of Lutenist Song Writers* series (1920-32) and extensive contributions to the ten-volume *Tudor Church Music* collection (1922-29). When this output is combined with *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632* (1920), *The English Madrigal Composers* (1921), biographies of Byrd (1923) and Gibbons (1925), a manuscript catalogue of the music in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury (1934), his well-known *English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII* (1942) and numerous articles (1914-49), the significance of Fellowes becomes even more evident. In addition to being a major figure in the early development of the British musicological discipline, the scale and consistent quality of his work meant that, in many respects, Fellowes represented the pinnacle of the Tudor re-examination.

Although Fellowes was certainly one of the most prolific scholars in the English Early Music revival, he was certainly not the first. The examination of largely forgotten periods began with the first edition of *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-89) by George Grove (1820-1900).[43] This monumental work:

> presented, in concentrated and accessible form, previously rarefied and fragmented scholarships on this period of English music history.[44]

The process continued with works such as *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century* (1893) by J.A. Fuller Maitland, a modern edition of *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1894-99) by Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire, a collection of medieval music entitled *Dufay and his Contemporaries* (1898) published by John Stainer and a detailed survey of music history in *The Oxford History of Music* (1901-

[43] Hughes and Stradling 76.
[44] Hughes and Stradling 76.

05).[45] In addition was the establishment of a number of academic music journals, amongst them *The Musical Times* (1844), *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1874), *The Musical Quarterly* (1915) and *Music & Letters* (1920) that proliferated with articles on both early music and later periods.[46] England was reclaiming its musical history, investigating the music of other nations and contributing to the recently emerged musicological discipline, yet this scholastic output did not revolve exclusively around the written word.[47]

The period also produced extensive research into performance practice. Whilst interest in earlier music dated back to the famous Berlin performance of J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion conducted by Felix Mendelssohn in 1829, in England the early music movement largely took hold under the auspices of Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940).[48] Enjoying dual status as both performer and instrument maker, Dolmetsch and various members of his family gave "house concerts" of early music throughout the 1890s. After a six-year sojourn in the United States,

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[45] The authors of *The Oxford History of Music* were Percy Buck, H.E. Wooldridge, C. Hubert H. Parry, J.A. Fuller Maitland, Henry Hadow, Edward Dannreuther and H.C. Colles.

[46] The *Proceedings of the Musical Association* became the *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* in 1944.

[47] As a discipline in its own right musicology did not really emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century. Centred in Germany, the idea of the science or knowledge of music was espoused in 1827 as the title of a work by Johann Bernhard Logier (1777-1846). However, its prevalence was not assured until the establishment of the journals *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (*Musicology Quarterly*) in 1855 and *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* (*Society for Music Research*) in 1868.

[48] Dolmetsch was born in France but spent much of his lifetime in England, arriving there in 1883 to study at the Royal College of Music in London. His interest in early music grew throughout the 1880s during which time he began to study manuscripts, acquire and restore instruments and learn how to play them. His first public concert was in June 1890. In the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century, Dolmetsch's activities and profile grew through performances, writings, instrument making and research. After moving to the United States (1905-11) and then France (1911-14) he returned to England where he was spend the last decades of his life. The work of Dolmetsch was very much part of a wider family affair, with various members, such as his third wife Mabel (1874-1963), daughters Hélène (1878-1924), Cécile (1904-97) and Nathalie (1905-89) and sons Rudolph (1906-42) and Carl (1911-97) all performing and in some cases writing. Yet family life was often strained. Two of Arnold Dolmetsch's marriages failed, his eldest daughter Hélène became estranged from the family in 1902 over the disputed ownership of an instrument, the elder son Rudolph was lost at sea during World War II and a grandson Richard committed suicide in 1966.

he returned to England in 1911 and published his *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (1915).[49] Within this work Dolmetsch espoused what was to become the mantra of the historical performance practice movement. Emphasising the notion of authenticity, he concluded "we can no longer allow anyone to stand between us and the composer."[50] Although Dolmetsch was primarily focussed on the instrumental, similar attitudes also extended into the performance of early vocal music. The written contributions of Fellowes have already been mentioned, but he also did much to put his modern editions into practical usage. He collaborated with ensembles such as the English Madrigal Singers and maintained close links with the choir of St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle where he was a minor canon from 1900 until his death in 1951. Fellowes was joined in this early music quest by Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938) who, as well as contributing to the *Tudor Church Music* series, also revived sizeable quantities of English medieval and Renaissance sacred music through his position as organist and choirmaster at Westminster.

In terms of scholarship and the development of British musicology, this renewed interest in the earlier music history of the nation was invaluable. It served, at least to some degree, as a means of directing the attentions of a late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century musical public towards the contributions of their own time. Yet for all the good that came of this retrospective focus, the intense emphasis on sixteenth-century music did little to promote less prominent periods of English music history. As has been seen, few books have given more than a passing consideration of the music of Civil War and Interregnum England,

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[49] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence*, 1915, rpt, (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1969).
[50] Dolmetsch 471.

a trend continued in the first few editions of Grove's *Dictionary* and early volumes of journals such as *Proceedings of the Musical Association, Music & Letters* and the *Musical Quarterly*.[51] It must be noted however that the question of inclusion was relative. Mid-seventeenth-century English music was not omitted from these works but proportionally its inclusion was limited.[52] In light of these developments, the portrayal of the period, intentionally or otherwise, as a descent from the "higher and wider range which we recognize as the Tudor school" was not unexpected.[53] For Fellowes, and most of his contemporaries, the golden age of English music came to an end around 1620 with the death of Byrd and the demise of the English madrigal. Against such glorious shimmer the perceived darkness of mid-seventeenth-century England becomes even more pronounced.

The situation was not helped by the existence of almost exact parallels in other branches of cultural history. This was most clearly seen in the field of literature where the death of England's great playwright in 1616 and Commonwealth suppression of stage-plays spurned on an almost identical form of chronological resentment. Like musicology, literary history is also built around a series of "big names" and one of the biggest, both in Britain and internationally, was undoubtedly William Shakespeare (1564-1616). Unlike English music history with its severe dearth of "great composers," the shining literary star of the

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[51] See George Grove, ed., *Dictionary of Music and Musicians A.D.1450-1889*, 3 vols., (London: Macmillan, 1879-89); J.A. Fuller Maitland, ed., *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 6 vols., (London: Macmillan, 1904-10) and Colles, H.C., ed., *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd ed., 6 vols., (London: Macmillan, 1927-28).

[52] Some examples include Yorke Bannard, "Music of the Commonwealth: A Corrected Chapter in Musical History," *Music & Letters*, 3 (1922): 394-401; Bessie A. Gladding, "Music as a Social Force During the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)," *Musical Quarterly* 15 (1929): 506-21; Rupert Erlebach, "William Lawes and his String Music," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 59 (1933): 103-19 and Grove entries on composers such as William Lawes and John Jenkins.

[53] Fellowes 1.

sixteenth century provided the nation with an international superstar of the calibre of Mozart and Beethoven.[54] The extensive fame of Shakespeare directed even more attention onto the second half of the sixteenth century and further justified its label as the English golden age. When combined with the strong nationalistic sentiments aroused by the decisive defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the sparkling image of the Elizabethan age was firmly established. Against the brilliant light of Shakespeare, and of the sixteenth century in general, the seventeenth century gradually descended into a dismal period of cultural darkness. For the music of the Civil War and Interregnum such images of devastating decline have become a staple ingredient of the negative historiography that has so deftly accompanied the period. In the quest of British music nationalists to display the best that England had to offer, the sixteenth century, and particularly the Elizabethan age, was the obvious candidate. In contrast, a period that witnessed the abolishment of the monarchy, the suffocation of church music and the closing of theatres was little more than a shameful embarrassment destined to be despised and hidden as much as possible.

For those writing in the nineteenth century, an additional element strengthened their loyalty to the Elizabethan age. Both periods were characterised by a relatively high level of economic and political success under the wise rule of a long-serving female monarch. As a result, nineteenth-century perceptions of the Tudor period were frequently characterised by an assumed, and Romanticised, understanding based on perceived common reference points. Yet this was not entirely unexpected. The sixteenth century did after all provide:

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[54] For further discussion of the historiographical influence of Shakespeare, see Chapter Four, pp. 177-80.

> the origins of all that it [the nineteenth century] held most dear – nationhood, religion, maritime-commercial traditions, civilisation and empire. ... The Victorians' identification with the Elizabethans was such that Queen Victoria – the "Widow of Windsor," by metapsychosis became a Virgin Queen, married to her people – was regarded as a latter-day Gloriana, long-lived and wise, symbol of the nation's pride and self-confidence.[55]

Possessing such connections, and in an age of fierce European nationalism and emerging socialism, any threat to the established order, even a perceived musical onslaught on the artistic achievements of Oriana's reign, was likely to be treated with at least some degree of caution and resistance. The unique considerations of British nationalism, combined with Victorian constructed connections between themselves and the Elizabethans, unequivocally extended its influence into the realm of music.

The close association of major English composers, principally Byrd and Purcell, with the royal court further supported this state of affairs. In the earlier portion of the Victorian reign, such patronage was bestowed on Mendelssohn whose oratorios, orchestral works and piano music proved popular with both the royal family and the public at large. Furthermore, his exemplary behaviour at a time when scandal surrounded composers such as Chopin, Liszt and Wagner was a welcome relief. Such connections – a female sovereign supporting a favoured composer, much in the same way Elizabeth had supported Byrd – were common to both the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The fact that the composer was in this case German and was not formally employed by the court was unimportant. After all Prince Albert was a German and Mendelssohn spoke fluent English and

[55] Hughes and Stradling 43-44.

used the language for his oratorio *Elijah*.[56] At a time when England was still very much in the "*das Land ohne Musik*" mindset, issues of nationality amongst talented composers were of little importance. Later in the Victorian period and into the twentieth century, most notably in the rise of the English Musical Renaissance, it seemed that a "golden age" similar to the Elizabethan era had returned at last. As part of its growing musical nationalism England gloried in the achievements of figures such as Edward Elgar (1857-1934), Frederick Delius (1862-1934), Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958) and Gustav Holst (1874-1934). The existence of such strong links between Victorian and Elizabethan England, whether or not deserving of justification, combined with the towering presence of Shakespeare and the growing perception of the later Tudor period as a wondrous age, further elevated the musical achievements of the sixteenth century at the expense of other periods.

For all the nationalist feelings that accompanied the English Musical Renaissance and Early Music Revival, both movements were inevitably forced to adhere to dominant musicological paradigms. Whilst Britons rejoiced in the past and present achievements of their music, measurements of worth and success were still inextricably tied to the perennial notions of the "great composer" and their respective body of collected masterworks. English composers, from Dunstable to Delius, were subjected to the same musicological criteria as those of any other nation. The Early Music Revival, despite the attention it directed towards English music of earlier centuries, was nevertheless built on a firm foundation of German masters. Dolmetsch may have played the music of

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[56] *Elijah* was premiered on 26th August 1846 in Birmingham. It was revised and presented in Manchester, London and Birmingham in April 1847.

Dowland and Jenkins, but the very movement he epitomised resolutely travelled on a road that led back to Bach. Here again the notion of composer and output was paramount – the fact that the individuals in question had existed centuries earlier was of little consequence. For the music of mid-seventeenth-century England these movements brought both burdens and blessings. Whilst they shone a spotlight on English music, they still remained attached to a framework that emphasised the very features the period failed to possess – major composers and notable repertoire. In addition, the quest for national pride understandably focussed attention on the Elizabethan "golden age," plunging neighbouring periods into relative darkness. Most affected by this were the years of the Civil War and Interregnum whose image as the destroyer of sixteenth-century achievement became even more firmly entrenched. With such an obvious lack of considered composers or worthwhile music, the potential advocacy and encouragement that might have accompanied the English Musical Renaissance was seldom forthcoming.

The "life and works" approach was not a self-contained entity incapable of adaptation and transferability. On the contrary, its application has continually served to fuel one of the main engines of historical musicology. In the absence of great composer and repertoire benchmarks, the development and progress of music becomes far more difficult to determine. Were music history to be built to different specifications this would not be so important. However, the primary foundation, the principal method with which music is followed through history is its "development." The impetus for the evolutionary approach lies not within music itself, but from the English biologist Charles Darwin (1809-82). In his

famous work, *The Origin of Species* (1859), Darwin emphasised the importance of "natural selection" and argued that all organisms were evolved from earlier, more primitive forms.[57] Of these, only the strongest and fittest survived to reproduce and endow these genes to their descendents. As the nineteenth century progressed, these ideas were applied to a number of areas including music. With this increasing emphasis, the position of mid-seventeenth-century English music within music history weakened further. In the Darwinian "natural selection" process, this music does not survive amongst the fittest. It simply does not meet the criteria with which "progress" in music is measured, and cannot be adapted to do so. The result is a virtual exclusion from the evolutionary system and the further historiographical malignment of the period in question.

Although the most prominent, Darwinian evolutionism has not been the only progressive mechanism through which music has been assessed. The image of the mid-seventeenth-century period has not been helped by the associated "Mesopotamian" theory in which innovation, and therefore evolution, is seen as progressing from East to West.[58] At the end of Europe, and a considerable distance from the cradle of civilisation, England does not score well in this geographical scenario. As a result of this mindset:

> scholars and critics have ... tended to attribute innovation and excellence in seventeenth-century English and Spanish music to Italian influence

whilst overlooking the possibility of influence in the other direction.[59] Although such an approach ignores the contribution of, for example, English viol pedagogy

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[57] Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, 1859, ed. J.W. Burrow, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968).
[58] Curtis A. Price, "Music, Style and Society," *The Early Baroque Era: From the late 16th Century to the 1660s*, Ed. Curtis Price, Man & Music, (London: Macmillan, 1993) 4.
[59] Price 4.

on the continent or the role of English musicians abroad, it is a dominant framework. The perception of the period has also been shaped to some extent by the evolutionary theories of the French zoologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829). Lamarck argued that different organisms developed the characteristics required for their survival, and that these attributes were then passed on to the next generation.[60] When applied to music, the effect is very much determined by the value placed on particular attributes. Given that music history places the highest worth on major composers and notable works, Lamarckian evolutionism produces much the same results as its Darwinian counterpart. There can be no doubt that in the Mesopotamian, Lamarckian and especially Darwinian branches of music evolutionism, English music does not receive an encouraging assessment.

Amongst the many authors adopting the evolutionary approach, one of the most influential has been Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918) who's *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1896) was strongly influenced by Darwinian principles.[61] For Parry and others the most important event on the seventeenth-century evolutionary calendar was the development of opera in Italy and, from this, the rise of various monodic forms.[62] England played little part in this process, much to the detriment of its reception by music historiography. Within this, the most important aspect was the issue of *Stile rappresentativo*, exemplified by recitative, and the failure of England to universally accept the new technique.

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[60] Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, *Zoological Philosophy: An Exposition with Regard to the Natural History of Animals*, 1809, trans. Hugh Elliot, (London: Macmillan, 1914).

[61] C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, 1896, rpt, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950). This work was enlarged by Parry from his *The Art of Music* (1893).

[62] Parry 159-61; See also George Dyson, *The Progress of Music*, (London: OUP, 1932) 101. Percy Buck also employs this evolutionary approach and alludes to the development of opera in his lecture "The Origin of Music as an Art" contained in *The Scope of Music*, (London: OUP, 1927) 27-41.

Such reluctance was illustrated by *The Playhouse to be Let* (1663) by William Davenant. In this five-act work a French Monsieur, Musician, Dancing-Master and Poet each compete for the use of the same theatre and the favour of the Player with whom the decision rests.[63] In advocating his case the musician reveals that:

> I would have introduc'd Heroique story In *Stilo Recitativo*

to which the Player replies:

> In *Stilo Recitativo*? 'tis well;
> I understand you, Sir. But do you think That natural"?

To support his argument the Player then asks, in recitative, for the time. The musician refutes this however, claiming that:

> Recitative Musick is not compos'd
> Of matter so familiar, as may serve
> For every low occasion of discourse.[64]

As made evident by Davenant, recitative was generally perceived by the English as being unnatural, a viewpoint not particularly surprising given that people do not sing to each other in real life. Recitative may have served as a means of circumventing Commonwealth legislation, or as a vehicle for limited sections of the drama, but its long-term adoption as a widespread operatic mechanism was not forthcoming.

Artificiality was not the only charge levelled at Italianate recitative. In *The Musical Gramarian* Roger North complained that:

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[63] Davenant used a mixture of old and new material for *The Playhouse to be Let* employing reduced versions of *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (1659) and *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) for Acts III and IV respectively, and a condensed English version of *Sganarelle* (1660) by Jean-Baptiste Moliére (1622-73) for Act II. The first act of *The Playhouse to be Let* introduces the plot whilst the last, the petition of the Poet, retells the popular story of Caesar, Mark Anthony and Cleopatra.

[64] William Davenant, *The Dramatic Works of William Davenant: With Prefatory Memoir and Notes*, 5 vols, (Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran, 1870), vol. 4, 22.

> [i]t is a sorry case ... to sitt by one when during a recitativo, sighs and groans at what he is to endure, before his favourite ariette, or that ballet, comes up.[65]

For the occurrence to have found its way into North's writings it would seem that recitative-induced boredom was relatively common. Within the same work North again discussed recitative and in particular the arrival of the style in England:

> King Charles I had a very ingenious *vertuoso*, one Nicholas Laniere, whom he imployed into Itally to buy capitall pictures; M[r] Laniere was no less a *vertuoso* at musick, ... And after his returne he composed a *recitativo*, which was a poem being the tragedy of Hero and Leander, which for many years went about from hand to hand, even after the Restauration, and at last crept out (wretchedly drest) among Playford's collections in print.[66] The King was exceedingly pleased with this pathetick song, and caused Lanneare often to sing it, to a consort attendance, while he stood next, with his hand upon his shoulder. This was the first of the *recitativo* kind that ever graced the English language, and hath bin little followed, till the later attempts in our theaters.[67]

North's lack of enthusiasm was further displayed by his assertion that the recitatives of the 1720s were of a lesser quality than their seventeenth-century counterparts.[68] Against such strong perceptions of un-naturalness and boredom, there was little to advocate the appreciation of Italianate opera amongst the majority of the English population.

Much of this reluctance can be traced back to the issue of language. For many, the English tongue was deemed unsuitable for the wholesale adoption of dominant Italian opera. In the preface to his libretto for *Albion and Albanius* (1685) John Dryden (1631-1700) declared that:

> [a]ll who are conversant in the Italian cannot but observe that it is the sweetest, the most harmonious, not only of any modern tongue, but even

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[65] Roger North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, 1728, ed. Hilda Andrews, (London: Oxford UP, 1925) 40.
[66] See the fourth book of *Choice Ayres* (1683). Reprinted in Henry Playford's *The New Treasury of Musick* (1695).
[67] North 19.
[68] North 20.

> beyond any of the learned. It seems indeed to have been invented for the sake of poetry and music; the vowels are so abounding in all words, especially in terminations of them, that, excepting some few monosyllables, the whole language ends in them ... [t]he natural harshness of the French, or their perpetual ill accent [cannot] be ever refined into perfect harmony like the Italian. The English has yet more natural disadvantages than the French; our original Teutonic, consisting most in monosyllables, and those encumbered with consonants, cannot possibly be freed from those inconveniences. ... [t]here is no maintaining the purity of English in short measures, where the rhyme returns so quick, and is so often female, or double rhyme, which is not natural to our tongue, because it consists too much of monosyllables, and those, too, most commonly clogged with consonants.[69]

Whilst Dryden was prepared to "coin new words, revive some that are antiquated, and botch others" as a means of getting around the problem, the eminent inappropriateness of the English language remained unresolved.[70] For the vast majority of the English theatrical community the perceived anti-realism of Italian opera, combined with general audience dissatisfaction and serious lingual issues, ensured that England largely rejected the new style sweeping across Europe. It was an outcome that suited the musical and dramatic traditions of the time but at the expense of a place in musical evolution.

The central role of opera in the evolutionary approach has greatly affected the place of mid-seventeenth-century English music within the wider realm of music history. England's limited involvement in this genre placed it on the periphery of Darwinian musical evolutionism, a situation largely brought about by the assessment of other music drama against Italian opera. By attempting to quantify English theatre forms against this benchmark, in trying to define it as something it is not, the result could only be unfavourable. An example of this can

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[69] John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 10, 18 vols, ed. Earl Miner, (Berkeley: U of California P, 1956-78) 10.
[70] Dryden 10.

be seen in the classic book by Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera*, in which he declared that:

> [t]he history of English Opera has been for the most part the record of three centuries of failure. From the first attempt to introduce opera to English audiences ... there has never been any period at which serious musical drama in the language of the country has been ... firmly established.[71]

Such attitudes have prevailed throughout music history. In terms of Italian opera, English music was very much "three centuries of failure" but for native forms the situation was vastly different.

The masque, in which songs and instrumental music co-existed with speeches, drama and dance, thrived during the Jacobean and Caroline periods. Even with the prohibition of spoken drama during the Commonwealth and Protectorate aspects of the theatre continued and music served as a means of circumventing the regulations. By presenting sung dialogue, and increasing the number of songs and other musical items, the production could be classified as something other than a play and therefore reduce or avoid censure. Yet even in this instance the result was not identical to Italian recitative, neither in terms of language, the texts set, or declamatory musical style. In spite of native drama, or perhaps because of it, England placed little emphasis on the growth and cultivation of Italian operatic styles. This is a major issue within the Darwinian framework. By focusing upon the early development of a genre in which, according to general definition, England played so small a part, the concept of evolutionism has significantly contributed to the historiographical neglect of this period.

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[71] Dent 1. Due to its date (1928, the 1965 edition is a re-print), this statement obviously precludes the work of Britten and his contemporaries.

On another level, evolutionism has also influenced the historiography of seventeenth-century music as a whole. Largely due to the development of opera and the increasing use of the major/minor system, the 1600s are frequently valued more for their metamorphic status than for the actual music produced. Indeed the entire construction of the Baroque period, and particularly its earlier portion, revolves around this notion of "progress" and "improvement" – progress away from the semi-nebulous polyphony and *prima prattica* of the Renaissance, towards a solid and understandable key system, and finally culminating in the masterpieces of the eighteenth century. Not surprisingly, the evolutionary emphasis was further exacerbated by the seventeenth century's lack of a "great composer," and the strong cards of the later Baroque with its hand of Vivaldi, Bach and Handel. Even in the case of Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), much of his importance is seen in the context of the Florentine Camerata and the development of early opera. The results of these attitudes are two-fold. Firstly, such an assumption makes it extremely easy:

> to regard the seventeenth century as transitional, a notion reinforced by general misunderstanding of how Italian musical culture was transmitted, and by under-estimating the importance of music north of the Alps.[72]

Secondly, it may explain why the early Baroque era, "the black sheep of music history" does not enjoy the same level of popularity amongst researchers as other periods.[73] These circumstances have done little to advocate the cause of seventeenth-century music, and especially seventeenth-century music from outside of Italy. The situation is a simple one. Evolutionism in musicology has merged with the notion of progress, and the transitional value of the seventeenth

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[72] Price 21.
[73] Price 21.

century has outweighed its musical products. In other words, the music is less important than the development it represents.

For England the evolutionary concept of the gradual development of music into a more worthwhile and generally more complex form does not fit easily into this framework of maturation. In many instances musicological labels such as "Renaissance" and "Baroque" hang on the period like an ill-fitting garment. At other times they barely apply. For instance, the characteristics generally considered as typifying the "Baroque" style – terraced dynamics, the *basso continuo*, ornamentation, contrast, clear resolution of dissonance and a sense of distanced emotion – are less prevalent in English compositions of the early and mid seventeenth century.[74] For these decades in particular "progress," and the adoption of Baroque ideals, were sometimes "behind" mainland Europe. In many instances English music displayed, at least until the middle of the century, much the same characteristics as the late Renaissance.[75] A prime example of this displacement can be seen in the madrigal genre, which first appeared in England over fifty years after its rise in Italy, and continued to be cultivated well into the seventeenth century. Similarly, while their continental contemporaries were focusing on the symphony, English composers were continuing to write *concerto grossi*. Although generally aware and accepting of new music, such as the work

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[74] Claude V. Palisca, "Baroque," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001. Having said this, it cannot be disputed that these years witnessed a substantial interest in foreign musical developments, particularly in the court setting, and the appearance of several Italian works in the musical collections of the nobility. See Jonathan P. Wainright, "The King's Music," *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999) 162-75; and *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*. Aldershot: Scholar, 1997.

[75] Peter Holman, "The British Isles: Private and Public Music," *Companion to Baroque Music*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 261.

of J.C. Bach and Handel in London, in terms of native composition English music history was frequently displaced against the rest of Europe.

In addition to "lagging behind," a situation in some respects aggravated by the political turbulence of the Civil War and the uncertainties of the Interregnum, English music often took different directions to its continental counterparts. The most obvious example was the field of viol consort music, and specifically the fantasia, where this uniquely English style was cultivated with little reference to the sonatas popular in the rest of Europe. At the Restoration when, to some extent, English music did finally "catch up" with Charles II's imitation of the French court's *vingt-quatre violons du roi*, the reaction was not always favourable.[76] In *Musick's Monument*, Thomas Mace viewed the "*Lovely*, and *very Contentive*" viol consort music as "the best practical music, both divine, and civil, that has ever been known, to have been in the world," and lamented its replacement by increasingly virtuosic violin music that filled "a man's brains full of frisks."[77] Although to some extent Mace was no doubt reminiscing the past and devaluing the present, his reaction also testified a preferment for English rather than foreign music. Whilst England usually welcomed foreign musicians, often providing them with employment and audiences, this co-existed with a reasonable level of compositional insularity. Such a dichotomy again reveals difficulties in the evolutionary construction and the free imposition of this dominant interpretation onto any geographical and chronological location. As Westrup has pointed out:

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[76] The *vingt-quatre violons du roi* were Louis XIV's ensemble of twenty-four violins.
[77] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 1676, fac. ed, (Paris: *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 1958-66) 234.

> [t]here is no objection whatever to speaking of the 'evolution' of music, but we shall get into great difficulties if we regard it as synonymous with progress.[78]

Unfortunately for English music many writers have been unable, or unwilling, to make this distinction.

A realistic perception of this "*Lovely* and *very Contentive*" viol consort music, as with other domestic forms, has frequently been hindered by the dominant historiographical assessment of its chief producers and supporters. There can be little doubt that the Puritans, and their way of life, have suffered something of an "image problem" over the centuries. Against the strong contrast of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods as the golden age of English music, their years in power are usually perceived as a particularly bleak time. Yet such perceptions are more the product of historiography than of history itself. For example, even though some of the more public aspects of music making, primarily the church and theatre, were severely limited, it does not automatically follow that all other musical endeavours were similarly stifled. Furthermore, little consideration has been given to what may be the origins of such perceptions and the historical circumstances in which these images appeared. The result is an extremely tainted history of the Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate, and even more difficult circumstances in which to determine the impact of the period upon its music.

The Elizabethan age was not the only portion of history favoured by the Victorians. Positive attention was also given to the reign of Charles I and in particular to the Cavaliers. Seen as romantic, dashing, charming and handsome,

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[78] Westrup 13.

the Cavaliers did much to inspire nineteenth-century imaginations. In many respects the attitude towards the English Civil War was decidedly pro-Royalist, often seeing the event as a negative occurrence brought about by the constant pestering of an unreasonable Parliament rather than the result of a wide range of political, social and religious factors. Writing in the late nineteenth century Samuel R. Gardiner concluded:

> the work of Cromwell and his associates had been purely negative. They had overthrown everything; they had constituted nothing.[79]

Nor were such attitudes limited solely to England. In 1856 the French author François Guizot observed, in regard to the causes of the conflict, that:

> [t]he king, ... had shown himself just and kind towards his people; he had yielded a great deal, granted a great deal. But nothing would satisfy the commons; they required the king to become their dependent, their ward.[80]

For at least one aspect of the Civil War, nineteenth-century interpretations were generally favourable.

In contrast, depictions of the "Roundheads" were far from positive. Feeding off imagery already firmly established in the eighteenth century and earlier, the harsh perception of the Puritans continued to be moulded throughout the 1800s. Perhaps more than any words, the emotionally charged painting by William Frederick Yeames (1835-1918) entitled "And when did you last see your father?" clearly indicated nineteenth-century perceptions of the Puritans and the English Civil War:

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[79] Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War 1642-1949*, 4 vols., 1886-94, vol. 4, (London: Longmans Green, 1894) 330.

[80] F. Guizot, *History of the English Revolution of 1640: From the Accession of Charles I to this Death*, trans. William Hazlitt, (London: Bohn, 1856) 34.

Fig. 2. William Frederick Yeames. *And when did you last see your father?*[81]

The image of seven austere Puritan men – one questioning, one recording, one guarding and four sternly looking on – strictly interrogating a Cavalier boy in the presence of his weeping sister and two frightened women, is a powerful one.[82] That Yeames should have depicted the Puritans in such a fashion, and in stark contrast with the generally romanticised view of the Cavaliers, points to a strong Victorian consciousness as to who was right and who was wrong in the Civil War. Considering some of the parallels between the two periods – as times when religious debate was again at the forefront, revolutions were commonplace, and ideas of righteousness and morality were especially pervasive – such a dichotomy is not surprising. That it should have fallen in favour of the Cavaliers bears testimony to the biases, fears, characteristics and concerns of many in the Victorian age. With the majority of the English populace supportive of their long-reigning queen and wary of the uprisings on the Continent, the similarities between the revolt of the 1640s and what they feared in the 1800s was clearly

[81] William Frederick Yeames, *"And when did you last see your father?," Fine Art Prints and Posters*, http://www.3wposter.com/yeames/yea2501.htm, 2nd April 2003.

[82] In his choice of subject matter, Yeames may have been alluding to Princess Elizabeth (1635-50) and Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1640-60), the two children of Charles I captured by the Parliamentarians and who visited their father the day before his execution.

evident. The image of the Puritans as strict, harsh, austere, misguided and at times evil was a logical outcome.

That the Puritans have received a bad press over the centuries cannot be doubted. Whilst the extent to which they have earned a positive reputation is debatable. Their traditional historiographical reception is not completely justified. It is not so much the case that the Puritans necessarily deserve a good press, more the point that they don't deserve such a bad one. The English Revolution of the mid seventeenth century was a unique achievement – the replacement, albeit temporarily, of a largely autocratic monarchy with an early form of parliamentary democracy. Yet is has seemed, in many respects, that history, or rather historiography, was not "ready" for this development. Whilst the catchcry of the French Revolution nearly 150 years later, "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" is frequently held aloft as representing freedom from political oppression, the corresponding events in England possess far fewer noble associations. Yet in terms of a raw body count, the transition to democratic rule was achieved less violently in England than in France or for that matter Russia. Unlike some his eighteenth and twentieth-century counterparts Cromwell refused to succumb to the form of leadership the uprising had overturned. Whereas France went on to experience a "Reign of Terror" and numerous nineteenth-century conflicts and the Soviet Union a brutal dictatorship that killed millions, England's future turned out differently. Although the monarchy was restored in 1660, it was on different terms – the outcome was a return to a familiar point with changed foundations.

For this, if nothing else, the Puritans deserve a more positive reception than they have generally hitherto received. Whist it would be erroneous to portray them as a people without fault, or to overlook their behaviour (or indeed that of the Royalists) during the mid seventeenth century, the larger picture must be borne in mind. The English civil wars were bloody conflicts that took the lives of thousands and changed those of thousands more, yet their duration and outcome could have been far worse. What may have potentially previewed the script of France and Russia never eventuated. A major war was fought but was contained within a few years; a monarch was executed but his family was spared; a new government was formed but those who had supported the old were not automatically purged. Like Eastern Europe in 1989 or South Africa in 1994, the overall outcome was a potential disaster that never really eventuated. Compared with what the Puritans could have been, and what they might have caused, England could have been less fortunate in its choice of administrators. The Puritans may have been austere, but their image over the centuries has been harsh.

One of the most striking examples of this and, for music, one of the most frequently levelled charges against the Puritans, was the destruction of organs and other church property. The examples of this were many. At Exeter, the cathedral in which Matthew Locke served as a choirboy, soldiers came and:

> brake down the Organs, and taking two or three hundred Pipes with them, in a most scornful, and contemptuous manner, went up and down the street, Piping with them: and meeting with some of the Choristers of the Church, whose surplesses they had stoln before, and imployed them to base servile Offices, scoffingly told them, *Boyes, we have spoild your trade, you must goe and sing hot Pudding Pyes.*[83]

[83] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus: Or, The Countries Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdom Together with A brief Chronology of the Battels, Sieges, Conflicts, and other most remarkable Passages, from the beginning of this unnatural War, to the 25th of March, 1646*, (London, 1685) 160.

Further east at Chichester:

> the Commanders having in person executed the *covetous part* of Sacrilege, they leave the *destructive* and *spoyling part* to be finished by the Common Soldiers: brake down the Organs, and dashing the Pipes with their Pole-axes, scoffingly said, *harke how the Organs go.*[84]

In Canterbury cathedral "the Soldiers ... violated the Monuments of the Dead [and] spoyled the organs," while at Winchester:

> as if they meant to invade God himself, as well as his possession, they enter the Church with Colours flying, their Drums beating, their Matches fired, and that all might have their part in so horrid an attempt, some of their Troops of Horse also accompanied them in their march, and rode up through the body of the Church, and Quire, until they came to the Altar, there they begin their work, they rudely pluck down the Table and break the Rail: and afterwards carrying it to an Ale-house, they set it on fire, and in that fire burnt the Books of Common-Prayer, and all the Singing books belonging to the Quire: they throw down the Organ, and break the Stories of the Old and New Testament. [85]

These events have repeatedly been used as a medium through which to portray and advocate the calamity of the times. Yet appearances can be deceiving. Whilst there can be no doubt that organs were destroyed by Parliamentarian soldiers during the civil wars, exclusive reference to this aspect risks distorting the bigger picture. By failing to look beyond the prescribed image, a more realistic picture of the Civil War and Interregnum becomes clouded by negative historiography.

The accounts of Puritan organ demolition originate almost entirely from a highly prejudiced Royalist and Anglican source, *Mercurius Rusticus*; *or the Countries Complaint of the Barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of the late flourishing Kingdom* by Bruno Ryves.[86] Ryves was an ardent Royalist, had

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[84] Ryves 139.
[85] Ryves 119, 146.
[86] Also spelt "Reeves." Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations*, (London: OUP, 1934) 231.

been chaplain of Charles I and also served as a courier in the delivery of money to Charles II on the continent. At the Restoration this loyalty was well rewarded – he was made Dean of Chichester and Windsor, chaplain of Charles II and received, among other things, two rectories. His *Mercurius Rusticus*, issued as a periodical, first appeared in August 1642, the year in which the destruction of organs began and two years prior to the creation of the more disciplined New Model Army.[87] Given that war involves tiredness, hunger, fear, alcohol and boredom, and that the Parliamentarian (and Royalist) army contained a sizeable percentage of pressed troops, it was quite possible that the events described by Ryves were to some extent more the product of military frustration than the acting out of any deeply held religious convictions.

Yet even the most liberal view regarding the destruction of organs must accept that although some instruments survived this initial onslaught, they subsequently suffered under "An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition" issued on 9th May 1644. This ordered that:

> all organs, and the frames or cases wherein they stand in all Churches and Chappels aforesaid shall be taken away, and utterly defaced and none hereafter set up in their places.[88]

These years saw the disbanding of choirs and the tragic loss, either entirely or partially, of an indeterminable amount of manuscripts and music publications. The harsh fact "that buildings were pillaged, art treasures destroyed, robes burnt,

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[87] The nineteen issues were republished as a set in 1646, 1647 and 1685.

[88] "An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition," 9th May, 1644, C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, vol.1, 3 vols, rpt, (Abingdon: Professional Books, 1982) 426.

and organs hacked to pieces" cannot be overlooked.[89] Yet the situation was not always entirely grim. Contrary to traditional belief, the Cromwellian establishment felt little opposition to the organ as an instrument in its own right, provided it was used in a domestic rather than liturgical context. In his *Notes on the Lives of English Musicians* Anthony Wood (1632-95) recorded that John Hingston (*c.*1606-83) was appointed:

> organist to Oliver Protector who had the organ of Magdalen College in the palace Hall of Hampton Court till his Maties Restauration; he breed up two Boyes to sing with himselfe Mr. Dearings printed latine songes for 3 voices; which Oliver was most taken with though he did not allow singing, or Organ in Chruche. He had them sung at the Cockpit in Whitehall where he had an organ, and did allow this John Hingston £100 per Annum.[90]

In addition, the overall extent of organ damage was significantly reduced by the fact that for the vast majority of English parish churches, and therefore places of worship, the cost of maintaining an organ or choir was prohibitive. Organs were "utterly defaced," but in many cases there were simply no instruments on which to launch an offensive.

The point so often forgotten is that with all history, regardless of time, place or focus:

> [t]he past is in many ways a captive of the present. To be sure, there is an objective reality to what actually happened at some previous point in history, but the transmission of that reality to the present is filtered through the prejudices, needs and concerns of its interpreters ... the past is not just the captive of the present; it is also its servant, and that at once raises the question: on what basis is the past rewritten?[91]

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[89] Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972) 204.
[90] Ironically Richard Dering (*c.*1580-1630) whose Latin motets Cromwell must have particularly enjoyed, at least in the domestic devotional setting, was an English Catholic who had served as organist to a community of Benedictine nuns in Brussels and later to the Charles' Catholic queen Henrietta Maria. See Peter Platt and Jonathan Wainwright, "Dering, Richard." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* 2nd ed. 2001; Anthony Wood, *Notes on the Lives of English Musicians*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Wood D. 19(4).
[91] Roger Howell, Jr., "Images of Oliver Cromwell," *Images of Oliver Cromwell: Essays for and by Roger Howell Jr.*, ed. R.C. Richardson, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993) 20.

For the period under examination, the past was re-written through the eyes of the long-term victors of England's mid-seventeenth-century conflicts. To be sure, the Parliamentarians "won" the war and ruled for the ensuing decade, but it was the Royalists who enjoyed the final victory – the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Under this returned monarchical regime, in which Parliament admittedly enjoyed greater power than under Charles I, there was no doubt a desire amongst many to show support for the new king. The most obvious way of doing this was to portray the preceding period in a less than favourable light. Put into the context of musicology, the perceived fanatical government of the period blends well with its existence outside the Darwinian sphere and the dearth of "great composers." For English music of the Civil War and Interregnum period there is, at many points, a vast separation between the objective reality and the rewritten past.

Within this tyranny of distance between history and historiographical perception, the harsh judgements applied to Puritanism are of prime importance. Underlying this, the representation of Oliver Cromwell has been both a major influence and product. He has been depicted as many things:

> radical regicide, conservative constitutionalist, reluctant dictator, ambitious tyrant, ... fascist strong man, ... the representative of the emergent middle class, ... spokesman for the declining gentry, ... the human instrument of the providence of God, ... a man who had sold his soul to the devil for short-term personal gain, ... and a textbook case of the manic-depressive psychosis.[92]

So strong and flexible is the currency of Cromwell that it has been readily transferred to other places and times, both as a badge of honour and disdain.[93] In the field of music it has generally been the more negative images of Cromwell

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[92] Howell 24.

[93] An example of the former can be seen in the context of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) where both the British and Afrikaner leaders, Joseph Chamberlain and Paul Kruger, were seen by different parties as deserving favourable comparison with the Puritan leader. Howell 22.

that have tended to predominate. Yet in stark contrast with the prevailing image of a staid, pleasure-loathing, Puritanical dictator, Cromwell "loved a good voice and instrumentall musick well" and "had forty-eight violins and fifty trumpets and much mirth with frolics besides mixt dancing" at the wedding of his daughter Frances.[94] Such a dichotomy is not surprising. The traditional image of Cromwell the tyrant fits more neatly into the historiographical placement of Puritanism, and the portrayal of their years in power as a dark time in English history. It served to further justify the Restoration among its contemporary supporters and gave music history another "reason" to trivialise, or even ignore, the musical events of the period.

The severe image of the Puritan regime is also evident in the commonly held opinions of the period that followed it. The Restoration has traditionally been viewed as a kind of musical knight in shining armour that saved the distressed damsel of English music history from the evil clutches of a severe republican dictatorship, and returned music to the former glory of the Elizabethan age. In *The Growth of Music: A Study in Musical History* (1912), Henry Cope Colles keenly asserted that:

> [t]here can be no doubt that his [Charles II's] coming was good for music, for the Puritan rule had forbidden theatres and suppressed cathedral services, so that the grand old church music of Byrd and Gibbons had been long silenced, and the new music of the theatre, which was developing in Italy and France, had made no strong mark here.[95]

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[94] Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself: Collected from his Diaries and other Papers*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols, vol. 2, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891) 287. Quoted in Lynn Hulse, "John Hingeston," *Chelys* 12 (1983): 28-29. See *MSS of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland*, vol. 5, Letters by William Dugdale to John Langley at Trentham, 24th October 1657, fol.11r., Straffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Straffordshire Record Office; Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report, C.1432-1876, Appendix, p.177.

[95] Colles 73.

Whilst not meaning to discredit the achievements of the years after 1660, it seems almost certain that this favourable reception was substantially lifted by the period's possession of a major English composer in the form of Henry Purcell. In competition with such attributes, the chances of Civil War and Interregnum music receiving an unbiased consideration were effectively minimised.

This harsh image of mid-seventeenth-century music is somewhat ironic considering that the predominant construct of Puritan image derives not from England but the United States of America. Although the Pilgrim Fathers who crossed the Atlantic in 1620 were by no means a representative cross-section of English Puritan society, their experiences and level of belief have been the main source of Puritan historiography. For example those who chose, or were forced, to emigrate generally held stricter and more unrelenting attitudes than the majority of the English population. In terms of numbers this "great migration" involved less than half a percent of the English population, yet they:

> transformed the landscape and shaped a new society. They brought with them English notions of political order, religious seriousness, moral righteousness, literature, commerce and 'civilization,' and adapted them to local conditions. Their families increased and multiplied; their institutions survived and prospered.[96]

Despite this appearance of insignificance in a far-off land, the American experience has been the dominant Puritan construction. Although it too has been tainted by historiography, the subsequent dominance of the United States and the easily identifiable Puritanism of its early European settlers, has ensured the prevalence of this interpretation.

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[96] David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) vii.

While both nations emerged to be superpowers, the Puritanism of America was the beginning of a new nation, whereas for England the experience was a relatively small episode of a much larger history.[97] This can be seen in the differences in attention given to the migration by British and American historians. British writings on the Stuart period often make few, if any, references to New England whereas for American historians the colony is naturally a focal point. This situation is further exacerbated by the tendency of American writers:

> to take Puritanism for granted, accepting that the colonists who came to New England were Puritans and what they believed was Puritanism. English historians – faced with a far more complex and fluid religious situation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – have not been able to take that easy path and have been immersed in heated arguments over the meaning of Puritanism.[98]

In the transferral to music, it is not so much the case of the American viewpoint completely dominating proceedings, but rather its ease of application. The packaged and "ready to serve" American formula is after all far easier to add than a nebulous grouping of not-fully-determined religious ingredients. With the pervading image of Puritans as "strict and dour moralists, kill-joys and even hypocrites," the result has been an extremely harsh judgement of Puritan attitudes towards music, both in the English and early American settings, rather than a reflection of what may have been the actual situation.[99]

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[97] This usage refers to a new nation in the Western political sense of the word. Both North and South America had of course been inhabited by humans for thousands of years before the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 and possibly well before any Viking contact of earlier centuries.

[98] Francis J. Bremer, "Puritan Studies: The Case for an Atlantic Approach," *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993) xiii.

[99] John Adair, *Founding Fathers: The Puritans in England and New England*, (London: Dent, 1982) x. Despite this common portrayal, the term "Puritan" was initially used by contemporary critics to refer to "the hotter sort of Protestants."

One of the most influential writers in transferring these Puritan judgements onto music was the British historian Charles Burney in his famous work *A General History of Music*, first published in 1776.[100] According to Burney:

> [t]he art of music, and indeed all arts but those of killing, canting and hypocrisy, were discouraged.[101]

He further explained that:

> [d]uring the grand rebellion and interregnum, musicians who had employment either in the chapels royal, cathedrals, or public exhibitions in the capital, were forced to skulk about the country, and solicit an asylum in the houses of private patrons. ... [m]any a man of creative genius and gigantic abilities, has been manacled by idleness, vanity, and self-applause in a private station, where, safe from rivals, and certain of the approbation of a small, and perhaps ignorant and partial circle of friends, he has degenerated into listlessness, conceit, and affectation.[102]

Even though Burney frequently concedes that music was cultivated in private during this period, it is the above perception that has dominated the following centuries.[103] Unfortunately, Burney was writing at an ideal time to receive a strong dose of negative Puritan image – supplied on one hand by the prevalent attitudes of the Restoration and ensuing reigns, and on the other by contemporary British responses and propaganda to the uprising community in America.

For Burney, the musical situation at the time of the Commonwealth was simple and straightforward:

> [f]rom the death of Charles I. till the Restoration ... the gloomy fanaticism of the times had totally prohibited the public use of every species of Music, except unisonous and syllabic psalmody.[104]

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[100] *A General History of Music* was issued as four volumes, the last appearing in 1789.
[101] Burney 307.
[102] Burney 308.
[103] This is the case even with the numerous referrals in *A General History of Music* to London "opera", the vast supply of printed music, and other forms of secular music during the Commonwealth and Protectorate.
[104] Burney 321.

Hugo Leichtentritt took the matter further. In his *Music of the Western Nations* he declared that:

> [t]oward the middle of the seventeenth century, ... [the] flowering of music culture in England was disrupted by the Cromwellian wars. The severity of Cromwell's government put a stop to England's revelry. Music became suspect as a companion of carnality and was extinguished simultaneously with the deposition and execution of the King.[105]

Yet these were not isolated mindsets. On the contrary they were intertwined with, and supported by, the failure of the period in the "great composer," evolutionary and "suitable repertoire" criteria. In this way the attitudes of Burney have had a major impact on the historiographical reception of English music during the Civil War and Interregnum, and supported the notion of the years *c.*1620 to *c.*1670 as an obscure valley between the two great peaks of Byrd and Purcell.

The immense willingness to accept this belief was both reinforced and justified by the high esteem accorded to Burney as a music historian. Given the importance of *A General History of Music*, both in terms of its emphasis upon England and its role in the development of music history writing, it is not surprising that the book has had a major influence. However Burney was not the only important music history writer of eighteenth-century Britain. He is often compared with his contemporary Sir John Hawkins (1719-89) who's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* also appeared in 1776.[106] Both possessing faults in terms of coherency and accuracy, and both condemning the music of the Interregnum, the two works were amongst the earliest and most significant music history publications. Of the two the work of Burney is both

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[105] Hugh Leichtentritt, "England," *Music of the Western Nations*, ed. Nicolas Slonimsky, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1965) 186.

[106] A *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* was issued in five volumes, all released in 1776, well before Burney had published his second volume of *A General History of Music.*

better known and more directly relevant to the music of England, focusing largely on this country and being "above all an English history of music for Englishmen."[107] They are however very different in style. Essentially:

> [t]hough something of Hawkins's thought is conveyed through his selection of materials, his work is largely an impersonal, if meticulously wrought, account. In contrast, Burney's *History* is an intensely ... personal tour through the history of music.[108]

For Hawkins, the idea of employing "taste" as a measure of judgement is rejected whereas Burney, capitalising on his authority as a professional musician and critic, packages his book as a means through which the reader can acquire musical appreciation.[109] The music of post-Jacobean and pre-Restoration England did not receive a favourable assessment through either approach. With the importance of both works, the influence of Burney and to a lesser extent that of Hawkins, have become the source of similar attitudes towards the music of Civil War and Interregnum England.

In many of these cases the perceived impact of the Puritan regime on English church music has been of prime importance. Hawkins himself, in the *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, declared that:

> the liturgy being abolished, those excellent seminaries of music, cathedrals, ceased now to afford a subsistence to its professors, so that they were necessitated to seek a livelihood by teaching vocal and instrumental music in private families; and even here they met with but a cold reception, for the fanaticism of the times led many to think music an unchristian recreation, and that no singing but the singing of David's Psalms was to be tolerated.[110]

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[107] Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, Studies in Musicology 62, (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1983) 287.
[108] Grant 283-84.
[109] Grant 284.
[110] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776, 5 vols, 2nd ed., 1853, 2 vols, rpt, (New York: Dover, 1963) 582.

With the status of the church as an important musical patron, and in light of the generally harsh historiography accompanying the Puritans and Commonwealth government, it was not surprising that this image of mid-seventeenth-century English church music has been freely applied to other genres of the period. In *A History of Music in England*, Ernest Walker noted that:

> [t]he Civil War, and the consequent supremacy of Puritanism, altered the artistic aspect of England very deeply ... [t]he blow to ecclesiastical music was very heavy.[111]

With such attitudes continually being created and repeated over the course of two centuries, the cumulative total of these attitudes has adversely affected later perceptions of the period.

In spite of these strong historiographical forces, there has still been a limited degree of positive commentary on the music of Civil War and Interregnum England. One of the most striking dates from the early eighteenth century, well before the writings of Burney and Hawkins and the creation of musicology as a discipline, but also far enough away to avoid the "anti-Commonwealth" environment of the Restoration. In his *Memoires of Musick* (1728), North described the Caroline and Interregnum period as a time when:

> [m]usick flourished, and exceedingly improved, for the King, being a virtuous prince, loved an enterteinement so commendable as that was, and the Fantazia manner held thro' his reigne, and during the troubles; when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theaters, but in private society, for many chose rather to fidle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad, and the enterteinement was very much courted and made use of, not onely in country but in citty familys, in which many of the Ladys were good consortiers, and in this state was Musick dayly improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects but Musick) the happy Restauration.[112]

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[111] Walker 121.

[112] Roger North, *Memoires of Musick*, 1728, ed. Edward F. Rimbault, (London: George Bell, 1846) 18-19.

Even allowing for the effect of "rose-coloured glasses", there is little to suggest that the portrayal given by North is erroneous or misleading. If there is to be a flaw, it relates to the date of the source and the year of the writer's birth. Born around 1651, North was probably not even ten by the time of the Restoration, making his reflections on the Interregnum somewhat indirect. However, two important factors weigh heavily in the assessment. Firstly, North was the youngest son of a large and eminent noble family, making both his access to music and to information from older siblings extremely likely possibilities. Secondly, the North family is known to have employed, or at least received visits from, a number of musicians during this period, the most prominent being the composer and violist John Jenkins.[113] Given this, it seems almost certain that the young Roger North would have witnessed, or at the very least heard about, the "fidling at home" he was to document seventy years later.

In light of such evidence some writers have, at least in regard to domestic music, challenged the notion that:

> the Puritans were hotly opposed to all music, simply because they objected to the ornate cathedral services and to the abuses of the theatre.[114]

Although *The Puritans and Music* by Percy Scholes represented something of a turning point in attitudes towards the period, it was nevertheless a work with predecessors. As early as 1885, G.A. Macfarren aimed to "refute the common supposition that Puritan influence impelled the decadence of music in England" and acknowledged that:

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[113] See North, *Memoires of Musick* 85-94.
[114] Waldo Selden Pratt, *The History of Music: A Handbook and Guide for Students*, (New York: Schirmer, 1907) 189.

> this influence stirred the spirit of opposition in persons of a different tendency and was virtually the cause of a very powerful counteraction and through this of many highly-significant things as to the perpetuation of our music of the past, if not of the continuance of our music in the future. [115]

Even Parry, who had no qualms in considering "[t]he seventeenth century ... musically almost a blank" was willing to admit that:

> the taste and cultivation of music did not cease through the land because music was not heard in churches, the attention of lovers of music and the energies of composers were directed into exclusively secular channels. It seems somewhat of a paradox, but it is an incontrovertible fact, that the Puritan policy acted as the greatest incentive to the cultivation of familiar and domestic forms of art of a genuinely secular kind. To judge by the amount of music published during the Commonwealth the country would seem to have been bubbling with it. [116]

This recognition of musical endeavour during the Civil War and Interregnum, although focussed almost exclusively on domestic music, has increased over the course of the twentieth century. Yet even in spite of this, the image of a Puritanical administration presiding over a period of limited musical worth remains, particularly in earlier writings, the dominant perception.

Fortunately past decades have seen this image soften to some degree and, especially in recent years, have witnessed the increased production of articles, book chapters and monographs devoted to various aspects of the period.[117] However, it must be emphasised that progress in this direction is severely limited by the confines and constructs of historical musicology. Whilst there can be no doubt that the entire discipline is undergoing a far-reaching expansion of

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[115] G.A. Macferran, *Musical History: Briefly Narrated and Technically Discussed, With a Roll of the Musicians and the Times and Places of their Births and Deaths*, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1885) 63.

[116] C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Music of the Seventeenth Century. The Oxford History of Music.* vol. 3, 1902, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford UP, 1938) 207-208.

[117] Examples include Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000); Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, eds, *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, (Oxford: OUP, 1996); Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

definition, the underlying principles of traditional musicology remain largely static. Even with an increasing interest in some minor figures, *Musikwissenschaft* essentially remains a history of the "big names." For those lesser-known composers who do make it into the sphere, research is often initially inspired by association with a well known figure such as a relative, teacher or pupil. It seems unlikely that Michael Haydn (1737-1806) would be as mentioned in the absence of his more famous brother, or that John Blow (1649-1708) or Franz Xavier Süssmayr (1766-1803) would be as considered without their pedagogical links. Similarly, Muzio Clementi's (1752-1832) competitions with Mozart ensure a larger place in music history than might otherwise be expected, whilst interest in Marin Marais (1656-1728), Sainte-Colombe (d.1691-1701) and Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) would probably be considerably less if not for their portrayal in film. The period under examination fails to possess these associations with the major figures of music history and, less importantly, has yet to grace the cinematic screen. Mid-seventeenth-century England simply lacks the hard currency of a "great composer," or close association with a "great composer," to enjoy a strong position in musicological research.

The response in regard to this period, and indeed many other isolated and ignored corners of music history, is to examine it within smaller confines. Whist this approach by no means over-rides the dominant historiographical constructions of evolutionism and the general emphasis on major works by great composers, it has nevertheless found a niche within the wider realm of musicological research. The result has been the production of several valuable works concentrating on specific areas of music history. This trend has been

particularly prevalent in recent decades and, with the move towards specialisation, seems likely to continue. In regard to the period under examination, the work of scholars such as Andrew Ashbee, Peter Holman and Ian Spink has been especially pertinent.[118] Yet amongst the wider-focus music history texts, the Grout and Paliscas and Paul Henry Langs of this world, mid-seventeenth-century England receives little mention.[119] Even in works on Baroque music interest in the period is often limited.[120] Fortunately however, with the rise of specialist studies looking set to continue, interest in the music of Civil War and Interregnum England and other frequently overlooked periods looks set to continue.

By incorporating it into more concentrated geographical and chronological chunks a different picture emerges. For instance in the context of seventeenth-century England, or in an examination of viol music, the period assumes greater significance. With the increasing specialisation of musicology, and a growing interest in less examined areas, such a trend will no doubt continue. The advantages of this approach are of course a greater access to, and awareness of, considerably more music history. Despite this however, such work must still compete within the dominant construction of the musicological discipline. With the tendency towards specialisation the response has been, for the most part, the

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[118] See Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, eds., *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, (Oxford: OUP, 1996); Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, with Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*, (New York: Charles Scribner: 1974); and Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

[119] See Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*. 6th ed., (New York: Norton, 2001); and Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, rpt., (New York: Norton, 1997).

[120] See Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era: From Monteverdi to Bach*, (London: Dent, 1948); and Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987).

production of various "narrow-focus" studies on topics such as manuscripts, individual composers, organology and music analysis.[121] Whilst this work is obviously worthwhile and valuable in its own right it is interesting to note that larger-scale works, such as books devoted exclusively to the period, have been less forthcoming. Similarly, there have not been numerous works on the same topic in the manner of more "musicologically acceptable" research. Biographies of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert proliferate but there is, even allowing for lower levels of data, only a very limited number for composers such as William Lawes, Henry Lawes (1596-1662) and Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656).[122] It must therefore be stressed that research into the music of mid-seventeenth-century England and similarly neglected areas runs along different, and smaller, paradigms than the musicological field as a whole.

Yet even allowing for this, general knowledge of, and interest in, the music of Commonwealth England remains limited – the foundations laid by Percy Scholes in his book *The Puritans and Music* almost seventy years ago remain largely untouched. Whilst valuable work has been successfully carried out on various aspects of the period, the blunt fact remains that a detailed and holistic examination of English music during the Civil War and Interregnum is lacking from the literature. With its position on the external borders of the dominant evolutionary construct of music history and resultant placement on the periphery of the musicological canon, it is not surprising that the overall academic response to English music of the 1640s and 1650s should have been so isolated. Add to

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[121] See Introduction, pp.5.

[122] Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960); Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000) and Denis Stevens, *Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656*, (London: Macmillan, 1957).

this the generally negative image of Puritanism and the common evaluation of the seventeenth century as a time of compositional development rather than production, and the low historiographical status becomes even more apparent. Although some excellent work has been accomplished on select facets of the period, beyond these notable exceptions the general musicological response has been, for the most part, decidedly unenthusiastic and lukewarm. Thanks largely to the forces of the period's traditional historiography the music of Civil War and Interregnum England promotes limited research interest.

Stripped of its negative historiographical associations – in the absence of traditional Puritan reception, musicological canon and evolutionary construct – mid-seventeenth-century English music emerges as something vastly different. Without these damaging perceptions, it becomes much easier to regard English musical output of the Civil War and Interregnum period for what it was – a repertoire that may not be strongly considered by historiography but one that nevertheless served a worthwhile purpose amongst the people of its time. Failing to possess those assets that musicology values so highly, it is easy to overlook this music, dismissing it as being of little consequence or historical significance. Yet it is a repertoire that must be considered within its historical context. For this reason, an examination of the history and historiography of the period, and the distances between the two, has been undertaken. Only by understanding and appreciating the origins of this span, can the goals of historicity and accurate interpretation become attainable. In a period such as this, where receptions and reality can vary so widely, the ability to "mind the gap" between the train of image and the platform of actuality is an essential attribute.

Yet cultivating such an awareness is not without its challenges – the period of the English Civil War and Interregnum does not lend itself to easy historical construction. Standard musicological terms such as "Renaissance' and "Baroque" are, for the most part, of limited relevance, pertaining far more to seventeenth century Italian music history than to its English counterpart. Such distance is not surprising. Much of Western music history, and particularly for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has traditionally centred around events in Italy – the wider Renaissance movement, the increased emphasis on instrumental music and the development of opera – rather than on an island nation off the north-west coast of Europe. The fact that English did not generally share the continental enthusiasm for the ornate exuberance of Baroque architecture, fashion and artwork is significant. If nothing else, it illustrates a level of cultural autonomy or at the very least a refusal to blindly follow the dominant artistic trends of Europe. Yet this is not to suppose that the nation was ignorant of developments across the channel, or completely reluctant to infuse outside influences. Italian music was undoubtedly a significant force within a number of English circles, particularly amongst the court and aristocracy, but it was one of many aspects of mid-seventeenth-century English musical culture. That its influence should be included in a historical construction of English music during the Civil War and Interregnum period cannot be doubted, but the Italian emphasis must be appropriately balanced with the events, circumstances and characteristics of the time.

The primary deficiency of the Renaissance and Baroque construction, at least in regard to English music, is the demarcation between the two periods – the development of opera and the rise of the *seconda prattica*. For England, such

cultural events, at least around 1600, were of little direct relevance. As discussed earlier, the musical trends of the island were frequently "behind" that of mainland Europe, or else ensconced on a different journey to the majority. While the Florentine Camerata were experimenting with recitative and dramatic monody in an effort to recreate the ancient theatre, English musicians such as Byrd, Dowland and a host of madrigalists were continuing to explore the Renaissance style. In the field of opera, the area where Italian developments were most apparent, the English response was, for the most part, decidedly lukewarm. The dramatic vehicle of opera, recitative, gained only limited popularity after its novelty status had faded. In contrast with the rich tradition of spoken drama prevalent in England during the period, the idea of sung dialogue, and the notion that this could be portrayed as realistic, held limited appeal. This latter issue in particular has, in many respects, been the primary disabling factor in the quest of English music, and particularly early and mid-seventeenth-century English music, for mainstream musicological acceptance. With the construction and foundation of the Baroque period centred so heavily on Italianate recitative and opera, England's general lack of enthusiasm for the genre, and by association the reduced relevance of the year 1600, makes its progress through the Renaissance and Baroque periods difficult to quantify. Whilst this is not to suggest that the concepts of these musical era be completely dispensed with in regard to English music, any historical construction of the mid-seventeenth-century period must be mindful of both their advantages and limitations.

The strong emphasis on Italian opera and recitative within music historiography and their status as a demarcation line between the Renaissance and

Baroque period has done little to promote indigenous forms of English music drama. Whatever England may have lacked in Italianate all-sung opera was more than compensated for by the masque and English opera and semi-opera. It is easy to overlook this since:

> [m]any music historians are enthusiastically opera-centric, believing that what seems to have happened so naturally in Florence and Mantua about 1600 was destined to be repeated all over the rest of Europe, that Lully's achievement in France and Steffani's in Germany wre inevitable 'improvements' on the anaemic and impure stage types native to those countries. England's failure to develop its own opera tradition has been viewed as an aberration.[123]

Purcell's dramatic gifts, so beautifully displayed in *Dido and Aeneas*, *Dioclesian*, *The Fairy Queen*, *King Arthur* and other works, are well acknowledged, but these were not the only achievements of the period. In the years between the mid seventeenth century and the early 1700s English plays contained substantial quantities of music, both in the form of incidental music and through the incorporation of masques. Productions of Civil War and Interregnum works will be discussed in Chapter Four, but the tradition continued well beyond the Restoration. Matthew Locke contributed to *The Tempest* (1674) and *Psyche* (1675), Blow composed *Venus and Adonis* (1684/85) and the young Purcell came onto the scene with his music for Nathaniel Lee's play *Theodosius* (*c.*1680). English dramatic music may not have fitted the mould of its Italian counterpart, but its value and effectiveness served well the requirements of its time.

This contrast and contradiction between the musicologically dominant Italian opera and its less considered English equivalent displays, in part, one of

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[123] Curtis A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, (Cambridge: 'CUP, 1984) 1. See also Curtis Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre: With a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays, 1665-1713*, Studies in Musicology 4, (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979); and Richard Luckett, "Exotick but Rational Entertainments: The English Dramatick Operas," *English Drama: Forms and Development*, ed. M. Axton and R. Williams, (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) 123-41.

the major themes of the mid-seventeenth-century period. The years of the Civil War and Interregnum were characterised by all the chaos and uncertainty such political turbulence brings, yet at the same time managed to provide for substantial musical cultivation and development. Whilst it would be erroneous to suppose that these decades necessarily represented a watershed in the history of English music, any construction of the period must acknowledge that they were not the black desolate time traditionally portrayed by historiography. A government ban on stage plays actually encouraged theatre music, supplying a loophole through which productions could be classified as "masques" or a "representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes ... [a]nd the Story sung in *Recitative* Musick" and thereby circumvent the regulations.[124] Similarly, limitations on cathedral music contrasted strongly with the official support of sacred music within the parish church and domestic settings – a repertoire that had been prevalent long before the war and which prevailed in the vast majority of English places of worship. Added to this, and further contradicting the idea of a period with limited musical output, was a substantial domestic and institutional music scene and a marked increase in music publication. The 1640s and 1650s therefore comprised a multitude of musical opportunities and environs, ranging from disbanded cathedral choirs and destroyed organs to increased theatre music and domestic music meetings. The cocktail may have varied significantly from that of earlier and later periods, and limitations and restrictions were certainly in place, but the desire to make, create and consume music remained constant.

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[124] William Davenant, "*The Siege of Rhodes*," *The Dramatic Works of William Davenant: With Prefatory Memoir and Notes*, 5 vols, ed. James Maidment and W.H. Logan, vol. 3, (Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran, 1872) 232.

Co-existing with this multitude of musical circumstances, and indeed a major factor in their creation, was the unique combination of legislation and logistics that prevailed the period. For instance, the already prevalent trend towards congregational singing was enhanced not only by government rulings, but also by the viability of this form of musical worship in the absence of formal choir arrangements. Likewise, the increased proportion of music in theatrical productions served not only as a loophole through the Commonwealth's anti-stage legislation, but must also have possessed an important logistical element as well – a welcome form of income for musicians at a time when opportunities were frequently limited. Such continuation and adaptation is indicative of a wider theme of a time dominated by Civil War, a largely unfamiliar form of government, and where the future was far from certain. An atmosphere of perseverance and survival underlies much of the period, whether it be through the desire to maintain some form of theatre or the continued, and in some respects increased, emphasis on domestic and institutional music making. North's statement that "[m]usick held up her head" as "many chose rather to fidle at home" alludes to this, as does the marked expansion of music publishing during the Civil War and Interregnum period.[125] Yet such examples of perseverance also indicate, as does the increased interest and encouragement of worship in the home, a sense of turning inward at a time of crisis. Compared with other places and periods, the English Civil War and Interregnum may not have produced the most favourable musical circumstances. What the time did bring about however was a situation in which survival and perseverance were paramount, but one in

[125] North, *Memoires of Musick*, 1728, ed. Edward F. Rimbault, 18-19. For information on music publication during this period see Chapter Five, pp.250-54.

which music making was utilised and adapted to fit the changing social, political and economic landscape.

The legacy of mid-seventeenth-century English music is still developing, a trend that will no doubt continue as the Commonwealth period becomes of greater interest to musicologists. Yet what can be said with fair certainty is that the legacy of the music within the time far outweighs the legacy of the music itself. In other words, the principal significance of the period lies in its encompassing characteristics – the challenging of a royal autocracy, the emergence of an early form of parliamentary democracy and the reiteration of such ideas across later centuries. The continuance of music within this altered framework forms part of a larger picture rather than an isolated detail. Whilst this is not to suppose for a moment that the music itself is of lesser value than the history, the wider acceptance of this music can be enhanced by correct consideration of the historical context. Such examinations are in turn likely to assist the image of the period over the coming decades. As the musicological discipline continues to evolve and develop, the place and contribution of mid-seventeenth-century English music is difficult to precisely determine. Given the recent trends towards specialisation and the expansive interest into previously ignored, forgotten and minimised places and periods, research into Commonwealth music will hopefully continue. Although the volume of work produced is unlikely to ever be comparable with that of a well-known and "musicologically popular" composer such as Beethoven, it seems likely that interest in the period will be maintained. Given this, and with the substantial volumes of hitherto obscure music now

available on commercial recordings, the future of mid-seventeenth-century English music seems well assured.

Despite being paved with the best intentions that any historical construction will allow, gaps will still invariably remain. The effects of time, and the centuries between the present and the Interregnum, ensure that there will be at least some space between today's constructed image and the hidden reality of the past. This is the result of two interconnected circumstances. Firstly, the distance in time, combined with the conflicts of both the mid-seventeenth and later centuries, has resulted in an indeterminable amount of material being lost. Second is the influence of historiography. Whilst the aim is to completely avoid its pitfalls, to what extent is this intention attainable? Practically, in aspiring for the ideal of objectivity, the reality will more likely be informed subjectivity. The aim of this chapter, and indeed of the entire dissertation, has not been to condemn historiography but rather demonstrate its role in the formation of music history. In the case of mid-seventeenth-century England this influence as been frequently unfavourable. Yet images are never static, and the perceptions of the past must not be allowed to guide the direction of the future. Although this process of renewed assessment and evaluation is by no means new, dating back at least to the work of Percy Scholes, the Civil War and Interregnum period is still deserving of further attention. Many of its underlying themes – perseverance and survival, legislation and logistics – are as relevant today as they were 350 years ago. In what could now, equally, be labelled "sad, distracted tymes," an examination of past political turbulences, or more specifically the role of music for those within them, can only be valuable.

Chapter Three
"A Foule Evill Favoured Noyse:"
The Effect of War and Puritan Administration on English Sacred Music, *c.*1640 to *c.*1660

> But now a-dayes Musicke is growne to such and so great licentiousnesse, that even at the ministration of the holy Sacrament, all kinde of wanton and lewde trifling Songs, with piping of Organs have their place and course. As for the Divine Service and Common prayer, it is so charnted and mixsed, and mangled, of our costly hired, curious, and nice Musitions (not to instruct the audience withal, nor to stirre up mens mindes into devotion, but with a whorish harmony to tickle their eares:) that it may ixstly seeme, not to be a noyse made of men, but rather a bleating of bruite beasts; whiles the Coristers ney descant as it were a sort of Colts; others bellowe a tenour, as it were a company of Oxen: others bark a counter-point, as it were a kennell of Dogs: others rore out a treble like a sort of Bubs: others grunt out a base as it were a number of Hogs; so that a foule evill favoured noyse is made, but as for the words and sentences, and the very matter it selfe is nothing understanded at all; but the authority and power of iudgement is taken away, both from the minde and from the eares utterly.[1]

The sentiments of the Puritan writer William Prynne (1600-69) in many respects encapsulated Commonwealth attitudes towards much English sacred music. Granted, Prynne was certainly not a prime example of Puritan tolerance and liberalism, but beyond the colourful language and conservative leanings, he touched on the major Puritan objections towards church music – the incorporation of secular elements, excessive use of the organ, aspects of the choral culture and textual inaudibility – that would shape Commonwealth policy a decade later. It cannot be disputed that the Puritan stance on sacred music took, in numerous instances, the form of harsh repression rather than encouraging support. Even so, such sentiments, and the outcomes they produced, at the very least deserve to be considered in their historical and musical contexts. Only then can a more accurate evaluation and analysis of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music be achieved.

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[1] William Prynne, *Histriomastix, The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragœdie*, 1633, fac. ed., (New York: Garland, 1974) 284-85.

Despite this, no amount of historical awareness can avoid some severe truths. Regardless of the criteria used, the fact that these years saw "the tradition of English church music [suffer] an interruption more severe than at any other time in its long history," cannot be escaped.[2] To some degree, the stereotypical image of Puritans smashing organs and other church property was not entirely unjustified. The accounts of Ryves have already been mentioned, but these were not the only recorded incidents of Puritan aggression.[3] In his *History of the Church of Peterborough* (1686) Symon Gunton (1609-76) reported that:

> a Regiment of Horse, under Colonel Cromwel ... [t]he next day after their arrival, early in the morning, ... break open the Church doors, pull down the Organs, of which there were two Pair. The greater Pair, that stood upon a high loft, over the entrance into the Quire, was thence thrown down upon the ground, and there stamped and trampled on, and broke in pieces, with such a strange furious and fanatick zeal, as can't be well conceived, but by those that saw it. ...Then the Souldiers enter the Quire, and there their first business was, to tear in pieces all the Common-Prayer Books that could be found. ... When they had thus defaced and spoiled the Quire, They march up next to the East end of the Church, and there break and cut in pieces, and afterward [*sic.*] burn the Rails that were about the Communion Table.[4]

Even allowing for the forty-year lapse between the publication date and the events described, and possibly considering that the specific mention of Cromwell was included more for reader interest than historical accuracy, Gunton's account nevertheless provided another record of havoc, desecration and destruction. For many institutions the coming of war and Commonwealth rule brought little cheer or cause for celebration.

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[2] Anthony Lewis, "English Church Music," *Opera and Church Music 1630-1750*, ed. Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune, *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 5, (London: OUP, 1975) 493.
[3] See Chapter Two, pp.80-82.
[4] Symon Gunton, *A History of the Church of Peterborough*, ed. Symon Patrick, 1686, fac. ed., (Peterborough: Clay, Tyas, Watkins and Clay, 1990) 333-34.

As the account of Gunton indicates, such destruction was not only limited to organs and other large church fittings – an incalculable number of music manuscripts also met the Puritanical bonfires. This was also testified, as was the incidence of much other desecration, by events at Norwich Cathedral in 1643. The bishop of Norwich, John Hall, described it as follows:

> Lord, what work was here, what clattering of Glasses, what beating down of Walls, what tearing up of Monuments, what pulling down of Seats, what wresting out of Irons and Brass from the Windows and Graves! What defacing of Arms, what demolishing of curious Stone-work, that had not any Representation in the World but only the Cost of the Founder, and Skill of the Mason, what Toting and Piping upon the destroyed Organ Pipes, and what a hideous Triumph on the Market-day before all the Country, when in a kind of Sacrilegious and profane Procession, all the Organ Pipes, Vestments, both Copes and Surplices, together with the Leaden Cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-Yard Pulpit, and the Service Books and Singing Books that could be had, were carried to the Fire in the publick Market-Place, a lewd Wretch walking before the Train, in his Cope trailing in the Dirt, with a Service Book in his Hand, imitating in an impious Scorn the Tune, and usurping the Words of the Littany used formerly in the Church: Neer the publick Cross, all these Monuments of Idolatry must be sacrificed to the Fire, not without much Ostentation of a zealous Joy in discharging Ordnance to the Cost of some who professed how much they had long'd to see that Day. Neither was it any News upon this Guild-day, to have the Cathedral now open on all Sides, to be filled with Muskatiers, waiting for the Majors [*sic.*] return, Drinking and Tobacconing as freely as if it had turn'd Ale-house.[5]

Whilst the description of Hall risks being especially charged due to his position as bishop, the occurrences he, Gunton and Ryves described indicate the seemingly gratuitous destruction of a wide variety of church property. For all items the loss was tragic, but for "the singing books," the long-term results were particularly severe.

This ruination was made all the more devastating by the nature of English music collections. Despite the existence and gradual improvement of publishing

[5] John Hall, *Hard Measure: Written by himself on his Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanours for Defending the Church of England*, 1647, rpt., 1710, 15-16.

technology, the vast majority of English church from music before the Civil War was contained in sets of handwritten part-books. With demand limited to around forty cathedral and cathedral-like institutions, publication was seldom profitable or economically viable.[6] There were of course exceptions, most notably *Sacred Hymnes* (1615) by John Amner (*c.*1579-1641), the *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630) by Martin Peerson (*c.*1572-1650) and John Barnard's (b.?1591-*fl.c.*1641) *The First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641), but most pre-war cathedral music was produced and transmitted by hand. Just as the tastes of individual choirmasters varied from foundation to foundation, so too did the nature of their repertoire. Although more popular works would be found in the collections of a number of establishments, other pieces were more localised. Even worse for posterity, the time and effort involved in producing hand-written part-books ensured that few copies were made.[7] Indeed, the selling point of *The First Book of Selected Church Music* was to provide:

> Services and Anthems. Such as are now used in the Cathedrall, and Collegiatt Churches of this Kingdome. Never before printed. Whereby such bookes as were with much difficulty and charges transcribed for the use of the Quire, are now, to the saving of much labour and expence, publisht for the generall good of all such as shall desire them, either for Publick or Private exercise.[8]

In the wake of the havoc brought about by the Commonwealth, the results were often devastating – the complete or partial destruction of services and anthems for which there was frequently only one copy. In this regard and across many aspects of English church music, the coming of the Civil War and English republic was far from favourable.

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[6] Lionel Pike, "Church Music I: Before the Civil War," *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink, Music in Britain, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 66.
[7] Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, (New York: St. Martin's, 1971) 206.
[8] John Barnard, comp, *The First Book of Selected Church Music*, 1641, title page.

Not surprisingly, the topic of English church music during the Civil War and Interregnum traditionally evokes a profusion of negative imagery – of organs being destroyed, choirs decimated, church fittings torn down, and huge numbers of choir books reduced to smoke and ashes. The perceived wanton and indiscriminate destruction of organs in particular stands as one of the most vibrant and permeating images of the Commonwealth regime. There can be no doubt that the issue of organ destruction presents a challenge to any candid discussion of the effect of the Civil War and Interregnum on this repertoire and those involved in its creation and cultivation. No amount of contextual analysis can escape the fact that during this period "buildings were pillaged, art treasures destroyed, robes burnt, and organs hacked to pieces."[9] Yet there was another side. The question lies not in the occurrence of these events – an existence unequivocally acknowledged – but rather in their extent, prevalence and background. The onslaught of the 1640s and 1650s were by no means the first incidents of organ vandalism to take place on English soil, nor was the thinking behind them entirely without precedent.

In 1563 an anonymous author in the *Second Book of Homilies* resolutely proclaimed that:

> (dearely beloued) we ought greatly to reioice, and giue GOD thankes, that our Churches are deliuered out of all those things ... piping, singing, chaunting, and playing vpon the organes ... which displeased GOD so sore, and filthily defiled his holy house and his place of prayer, for the which hee hath iustly destroyed many nations.[10]

Almost twenty years later a pamphlet stated:

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[9] Long 204.

[10] *The Second Book of Homilies*, 1562-63, *The Anglican Library: Homilies*, http://www.anglicanlibrary.org/homilies, 28th March 2003.

> [l]et cathedral churches be utterly destroyed ... very dens of thieves, where the time and place of God's service, preaching and prayer, is most filthily abused; in piping with organs, in singing, ringing and trolling of the Psalms from one side of the choir to another, with squealing of chanting choristers ... Dumb dogs, unskilful, sacrificing priests, destroyed drones, or rather, caterpillars of the Word ... Dens of lazy, loitering lubbards.[11]

Nor were these mere words. In 1552 the organs at St. Paul's and York Minster were both silenced, only to be restored at the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553.[12] However in some respects this pre-empted a proposal from the early years of Elizabeth's reign to abolish all church organs, a bill that was defeated by only one vote.[13] What these writings and incidents display is the existence of some strong Reformation views on the inappropriateness of organs in English Protestant worship. Such sentiments may not have been overly widespread, but the fact that they were voiced at all, and amongst some of those in power, suggests a significant enough following. By the time of the Civil War and Interregnum such ideas had had ample time to grow, mature and develop.

Accounts of actual organ destruction during the Reformation period, at least in a blatant direct sense, appear to be non-existent. However this is not to suppose that instruments did not suffer. For the most part, the destruction of organs took not so much the form of violent onslaught but rather a gradual demise through the subtle process of neglect. As inflation rapidly increased during the second half of the sixteenth century and Elizabeth limited Crown spending, the finances of English religious foundations were severely affected – costs went up as expenses remained stable. In many instances, the expenditure required to maintain an organ and hire an organist simply became prohibitive. As a result,

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[11] *Request of all True Christians to the most Honourable High Court of Parliament.* 1580.
[12] Long 62; Watkins Shaw, "Church Music in England from the Reformation to the Present Day," *Protestant Church Music: A History*, ed., F. Blume, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975) 698.
[13] Long 62.

organs around the country progressively descended into a state of disrepair.[14] It was not so much the result of a religious conviction but a financial one – at a time of high inflation and tough economics, few parishes and parishioners were prepared to fund the upkeep of church organs. During the reign of Charles I, when Laudian ideals promoted the use of the instrument in services, some parishes came under pressure to return their organs to a functional condition.[15] The response was not always positive. At the London church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane:

> the vestry dew up a list of 'Reasons against the organ.' They said the organ had been taken down with the rood-loft and had been disused since Queen Mary's time, that it was beyond repair, and that the parish was too poor to maintain an organ: 'whereas the inhabitants heretofore have been merchants, stockfishmongers and men of great estates, now for the most part they are poor handicraft tradesmen;' and they were burdened with other taxes.[16]

Whilst organs were destroyed during the Civil War and Interregnum, their number and state of repair may not have been as high as generally envisaged.

At face value and according to traditional historiographical perception, Puritan aggression towards organs, music manuscripts and other church property seems the unprovoked work of a group of religious fundamentalists – a senseless act of violence with no precedent, precursor or justification. On deeper consideration however, the light changes angle and a different image is revealed. When placed in its correct historical context, and considered in the wake of its predecessors, Puritan organ destruction becomes more understandable. On one level, the vandalism of organs and other property cannot be justified, but on

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[14] See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols., (Cambridge: CUP, 1979) vol. 1, 52.
[15] Temperley 50.
[16] Temperley 52.

another its existence during this period points to a long-serving frustration with some of the liturgical and doctrinal aspects of the Church of England. In addition, the broken-down state of many organs by the time of the Civil War, combined with the general lack of financial enthusiasm to repair them, further alters the stage upon which this aspect of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music was set. Although one of the harshest aspects of English music history, it is imperative that the issue of organ destruction be viewed in connection with its time. By completely isolating the topic the essential meaning and motives behind this devastation risk submersion beneath layers of initial appearances.

Three hundred and sixty years on, and with a far smaller percentage of the Western population experiencing military conflict first hand, it is extremely easy to overlook the physical and emotional facets of warfare. When this is taken into account, it becomes increasingly likely that the violence directed towards organs was to some degree the result of the psychological aspects and physical burdens of war rather than a vengeance wrought from the upholding of strong religious principles. During the Civil War itself some of the damage was inflicted by Parliamentarian soldiers who themselves were not necessarily Puritans, whilst for others in the army the smashing of organs adhered to their interpretation of the Puritan ideal. As the writings of Ryves so consistently testify, it was soldiers who "brake down the Organs," whether at Westminster, Exeter, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester or elsewhere.[17] This contrasts considerably with the almost universal image of Roundheads smashing instruments as part of a

[17] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus: Or, The Countries Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdom Together with A brief Chronology of the Battels, Sieges, Conflicts, and other most remarkable Passages, from the beginning of this unnatural War, to the 25th of March, 1646*, (London, 1685) 160. See Chapter Two, pp.80-82.

Puritanical religious crusade. In addition, the accounts of these occurrences derive almost exclusively from Bruno Ryves, an unashamedly Royalist source.[18] They must therefore be considered with the appropriate degree of scepticism. That organs *were* destroyed during this period is accepted. The point on which historiography has missed the mark is the portrayal, significance and extent of this destruction. The effect of mobilisation, whether on an individual, local, regional or national level, has all too frequently been omitted from English music history. In the case of the early 1640s, the wartime environment provides a reasonable explanation for the anger vented on organs and other church property.

Nor was such behaviour necessarily the sole preserve of the Parliamentarian army. Whilst the accounts of organ destruction admittedly pertain to this side, the common themes of war – fear, death, hunger, boredom and aggression – would have been as relevant to the Royalists as they were to the Parliamentarians. Furthermore, the influences of propaganda cannot be dismissed – reports of organ destruction would have helped fuel anti-Puritan sentiments both during and after the conflict. The frequent mention of individuals taking items away from churches and cathedrals, points to a substantial degree of looting and souveniring, relatively common occurrences throughout the Civil War. As the words of a popular song of the period made clear:

[18] See Chapter Two, pp.82.

Now our lives,
Children, wives,
And estate
Are a prey to the lust and plunder
To the rage
Of our age;
And the fate
Of our land
Is at hand;[19]

The act of plundering, whether as a psychological response or a quest for food and munitions was, in many places and on both sides, a recurring feature of the English Civil War.

From a military viewpoint, the wealth of cathedrals and relative lack of defence, combined with their potential use as shelter and the possibility of turning organ pipes into musket balls and other useful equipment, would have appealed to both sides. It is conjectural but, given the incidence of looting and the high level of physical and psychological stresses military combat involves, the possibility that some organs may have been destroyed by members of the Royalist army cannot be resolutely dismissed. Even if this were not the case, the behaviour of the Parliamentary army must be considered in light of the circumstances in which they found themselves and the actions these situations may have aroused. Whilst for some the destruction of organs no doubt possessed a religious element, the influences of military conflict cannot be ignored.

For much of the period under examination however this aspect cannot be applied. The Commonwealth did after all order:

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[19] Charles Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs and Ballads of England from 1642 to 1684*, (London: Griffin Bohn, 1863) 9. For accounts of looting and plunder see Chapter One, pp.30-31.

> [t]hat all Representations of any of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any angel or Saint, in or about any Cathedral, Collegiate or Parish Church, or Chappel, or in any open place within this Kingdome, shall be taken away, and utterly demolished; And that no such shall hereafter be set up, And that the Chancel-ground of every such Church or Chappel, raised for any Alter, or Communion Table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled; And that no Copes, Surplisses, superstitious Vestments, Roods, or Roodlons, or Holy-water Fonts, shall be or be any more used in any Church or Chappel within this Realm: And that Persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint shall be, or continue upon any Plate, or other thing used, or to be used in or about the worship of God; And that all Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches and Chappels foresaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places; And that all Copes, Surplisses, superstitious Vestments, Roods, and Fonts aforesaid, be likewise utterly defaced; whereunto all persons within this Kingdome, whom it may concern, are hereby required at their peril to yield due obedience.[20]

Unfortunately these orders were all too frequently carried out. In 1646 the organs of Worcester Cathedral were removed following the surrender of the city to the Parliamentarian army.[21] Northeast at York it was:

> [o]rdered that M[r] Richard Dossie shall sell the iron which has taken [*sic.*] upp in the Minster, as alsoe such things as were about the organ lofte and organs, and other trifeling things which are not fitt for anie special use.[22]

The destruction of organs during this period is a facet of mid-seventeenth-century English music history that cannot be ignored or minimised. Yet it was part of a much larger picture and care must be taken not to let it dominate the whole.

The traditional image of church music during this period, replete with organ destruction and mass musical carnage, has tended to fuel wider perceptions of music during Civil War and Interregnum England. In discussing the musical

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[20] "An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition," 9th May 1644, C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 3 vols., rpt., vol. 1, (Abingdon: Professional Books, 1982) 425-26.

[21] Henry Townshend, *Diary of Henry Townshend of Elmley Lovett*, vol. 1, ed. J.W. Willis Bund, 4 vols (Worcester: Worcester Historical Society, 1920) 191.

[22] *Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee*, 25th January 1647, York City Archives MSS E.31. See also Angelo Raine, ed.,"Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee of York and the Ainsty," *Miscellanea*, vol. 6, ed., Charles Edwin Whiting, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series 118 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1953) 9.

desolation of the period, it is the plight of sacred music, the "fanatical onslaught ... made on choirs [and] organs" that has tended to predominate.[23] The traditional perception of Commonwealth sacred music, characterised by unfounded restrictions and wanton destruction, has generally been used as a medium through which the achievements of the period as a whole have been calculated. The results have seldom been positive. As Charles Burney surmised in *A General History of Music*:

> [f]rom the death of Charls I. till the Restoration, ... the gloomy fanaticism of the times had totally prohibited the public use of every species of music, except unisonous and syllabic psalmody.[24]

An example of the stylistic characteristics Burney was referring to can be seen in an anonymous setting of the Nunc dimittis from the *English Psalm Book* (1560):

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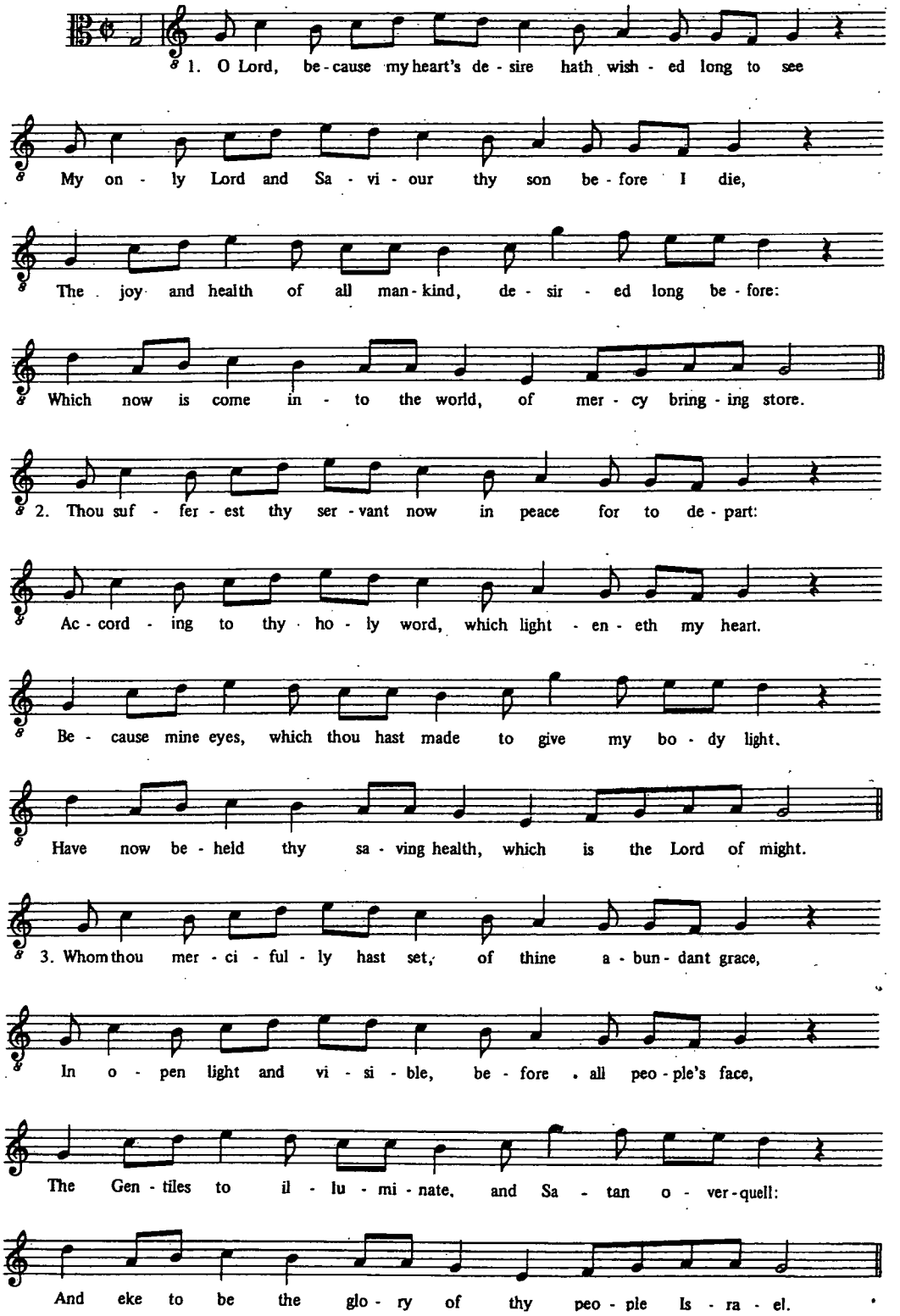
[23] Waldo Selden Pratt, *The History of Music: A Handbook for Students*, (New York: Schirmer, 1907) 212.

[24] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, rpt., (London: Foulis, 1935) 321.



Ex. 1. Anonymous. Nunc dimittis from the *English Psalm Book* (1560).[25]

[25] Temperley, vol. 2, 38-39.

Organs were destroyed during this period, and the effects on some aspects of English sacred music were indeed severe, but such events and outcomes were part of a wider picture. The results were by no means universal.

With the field of sacred music undoubtedly being a victim of particularly harsh perceptions, these historiographical considerations become even more important. In addition to the reception of Puritanism as a whole, a large proportion of this image has derived from an over simplification of labelling and a limited awareness of Commonwealth attitudes towards sacred music. Focusing exclusively on cathedral music and ignoring other forms of mid-seventeenth-century sacred music does little to advocate a wider portrayal of the period. The repertoire of the cathedrals was by no means the only religious music cultivated during this period. Alongside the great English cathedrals and collegiate institutions of Oxbridge were synagogues, private chapels and numerous parish churches. It does not automatically equate that the consequences of the English Civil War and Interregnum were identical across every place of worship. The results for a small-scale, local parish church may differ markedly from that of a major cathedral such as York Minster or St. Paul's. What happened in the chapel of one Oxbridge college was not necessarily synonymous with events in another. Armed with such considerations, it quickly becomes apparent that English sacred music prior to the Civil War was characterised by extensive variation and wide diversity. By taking such disparities into account an examination of the effects of the 1640s and 1650s on English sacred music obtains a much broader focus. Through this the essential aims of the project are resolutely legitimised and past

interpretations of the period, some of them woefully inaccurate, can be successfully overcome.

The forces of traditional historiography and negative imagery have been so strong in regard to mid-seventeenth-century English church music that they have frequently overshadowed the diversity of the period. In producing an objective consideration of English sacred music from *c.*1640 to *c.*1660, a thorough awareness and understanding of these dominant interpretative factors is therefore vital. For instance, examining only the music of cathedrals risks painting a narrow picture. The conditions at these institutions, and the effect of the Civil War and Interregnum upon them, may not have been relevant across all aspects of English church music. Similarly, the state of church music in different locations and environments may have varied significantly. With such potential deviation from the historiographically accepted norm an alternate angle of approach becomes increasingly necessary. The music of private chapels, such as those of Peers or wealthy merchants, must be considered, but so must the repertoire of cathedrals. The musical devotions of collegiate chapels, whether affiliated with the universities of Oxford or Cambridge or schools such as Eton, need to be examined, as do the nation's few synagogues and many parish churches. The historiographical perception of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music has been a combination of prescribed imagery and limited consideration. Whilst the effects of the political conflict and republican regime that characterised the age were not always favourable, the idea that "the gloomy fanaticism of the times" allowed only "unisonous and syllabic psalmody" must be questioned.[26]

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[26] Burney 321.

Some of the negativity surrounding the religious music of this period derives from the use of misleading nomenclature. In discussing this subject the term "church music" is something of a misnomer – it does not accurately encompass the many forms of religious music cultivated during the period. Essentially, in spite of its adjective, the term "church music" is generally used interchangeably to refer to music in the church setting or to cathedral and collegiate music. It does not take into account religious music performed in a domestic setting or the music of the parish church. The confusion that potentially arises from such misleading terminology further exacerbates the slimline approach often given to the sacred music of Civil War and Interregnum England. By presenting and maintaining the idea that "church music" is in actuality "cathedral music," the lines between the various genres of English sacred music become blurred. In this fashion the diversity of the period is easily overshadowed. With such common application of the term "church music" to the cathedral context, it becomes difficult to avoid judging Interregnum sacred music against this criterion. The results are seldom favourable. In the field of cathedral music the Commonwealth did, in many respects, have a harsh impact. It was this area that bore the brunt of many government policies and that suffered most under the ordinances that brought about the destruction of organs and other church property. Its exclusive examination risks painting a very negative picture of all aspects of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music.

The traditional historiographical interpretation of Commonwealth sacred music would probably be far less severe if the emphasis on cathedral music within secondary sources were not so strong. As it is however, examination of the

country's religious music has concentrated heavily on cathedrals and similar institutions. Works such as the two-volume *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549 to 1889* (1908) by John S. Bumpus and the influential *English Cathedral Music: From Edward VI to Edward VII* (1941) by Edmund H. Fellowes, whilst valuable in themselves, have by default elevated one aspect of English sacred music at the expense of others.[27] Although the titles of these monographs often specifically indicate their relative focus, within them the transferability of the terms "church music" and "cathedral music" is commonplace. For instance, Fellowes described the Civil War and Interregnum as a period of "some fifteen years [when] *Church* music was non-existent in England" (my italics).[28] The interest in cathedral music, assisted by the names of well-known composers and an adequate supply of primary source material, has generally overshadowed other genres – the music of the parish church, the psalms sung at home and the devotions of the Catholic and Jewish communities. Although later books such as *The Music of the English Church* (1972) by Kenneth Long and *The Music of the English Parish Church* (1979) by Nicholas Temperley have to some extent redressed this imbalance, the general emphasis on cathedral music still remains.[29] For mid-seventeenth-century English music the result has been a widespread misunderstanding of the nature and diversity of religious music during this period and, from this, a possibly misguided view of the effect of the Civil War and Interregnum.

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[27] J.S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889*, 1889, rpt., (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1972); Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music: From Edward VI to Edward VII*, 5th ed., rev. J.A. Westrup, (London: Methuen, 1969).

[28] Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music: From Edward VI to Edward VII*, 5th ed., rev. J.A. Westrup, (London: Methuen, 1969) 4.

[29] Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, (New York: St. Martin's, 1971); Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols, (Cambridge: CUP, 1979).

This emphasis upon cathedral music within the musicological literature stems primarily from the enthusiastic research of Tudor sacred music carried out during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whilst an awareness of the music of Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Tomkins and their contemporaries had hitherto existed amongst the English choral community, the growth of interest in the period, exemplified by the rise of projects such as *Tudor Church Music* and *The Collected Works of William Byrd*, brought this music to an ever-increasing audience and promoted a revival of major choral works.[30] As was discussed in Chapter Two, such interest was a significant component of the English Musical Renaissance and an important factor in the emergence of British musicology.[31] Furthermore, with its close connection to the Church of England this music was eminently suitable for display as a nationalist achievement.

Against such strong forces of intense research, nationalist pride and wider historiographical notions of the mid seventeenth century as a period of decay and demise, the chances of the sacred music of the 1640s and 1650s receiving an unbiased consideration were minimal. Cathedral music was destined to dominate. In itself, this would not be an issue if suitable levels of attention were also given to other areas of English sacred music. As it is however, the sheer relative weight of literature on the cathedral repertoire has, particularly in the case of the mid seventeenth century, over-ridden interest in other forms of religious music. When combined with the frequent transferability of the terms "church music" and "cathedral music," it is little wonder that the historiographical perception of

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[30] Buck, P.C., *etal.*, eds., *Tudor Church Music*, 10 vols, (London: Oxford UP, 1922-29); E.H. Fellowes, *The Collected Works of William Byrd*, 14 vols., rev. ed. T. Dart, P. Brett and K. Elliot, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1962-71).

[31] See pp.58-62.

English sacred music during the Civil War and Interregnum period should have been so unfavourable.

The increased interest in Tudor church music was further exacerbated by the boom in church choirs and choral societies whose appetite for sacred music, particularly in the case of the latter, had already been whetted with the immense popularity of Handel's *Messiah.* Within the church setting, impetus for the revival of English Renaissance, and to a lesser extent Medieval, sacred music was heavily sourced from nineteenth-century re-evaluations of Anglicanism, epitomised most strongly by the Oxford Movement of the 1830s.[32] With a sizeable proportion of the Church eager to return to the Catholic roots of Anglicanism, the attention given to select sacred music was significantly increased. This enthusiasm naturally fed into many English church choirs and, more significantly, the wider musical population. The growing emphasis on the Tudor age in particular virtually sealed the general historiographical reception of sacred music during the Commonwealth period. With such emphasis on cathedral music amongst church choirs, and a frequent predilection for the works of the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that the demise of this wondrous tradition should be perceived in an especially negative light. In assessing the music of Civil War and Interregnum England against this cathedral benchmark, the result is a dismal failure.

Ascertaining the sentiments and stance of the Commonwealth government on this frequently dominating aspect of English sacred music is by no means

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[32] See Chapter Two, pp.57.

difficult. As can be seen from the sentiments of Prynne that opened this chapter, many of the concerns regarding church music bear much in common with those voiced a century earlier at the Reformation. This connection was clearly felt by the government itself – the stated aim of "An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatory and Superstition" was "better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun."[33] In the eyes of Parliament, the English Church had strayed far from this ideal. With the rise and ever increasing power of Arminianism and the greater prevalence of ornate services, the Church of England had come to appear disturbingly similar to Catholicism. The Anglican questioning and alteration of the pre-destination doctrine, the increased emphasis on liturgical ceremony and the growing power of the Church hierarchy were anathema to a significant percentage of the English Protestant population who saw them as an evil Papist influence.[34] The Roman allegiances of Queen Henrietta Maria and a sizeable percentage of the royal court further exacerbated this perception. The ordinance of 1644 attempted to rectify this papist infection of English worship by removing "all offences and things illegal in the worship of God."[35] For music, this meant the cessation of all practices that distorted word clarity and a return to the style prescribed by early and mid-sixteenth century Protestant principles. If English sacred music of the

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[33] Firth and Rait 425.

[34] See Chapter One, pp.25-26. The idea of pre-destination was a key element in much Protestant, and especially Calvinist, thought. It held that, due to the original sin of Adam and Eve, human beings were doomed to eternal hell, a punishment justly deserved due to their inherent sin. Fortunately, God had spared a small number from this fate by instead selecting them for salvation. As this had been determined at the dawn of time, the few chosen were considered to have been pre-destined. Such decisions were fixed and could not be altered. During the early seventeenth century the Anglican Church had decreed that, although pre-destination existed, its results were not irreversible. According to this interpretation, it was possible for the damned to be saved through good works or the pre-destined to lose their place in heaven through excessive sin.

[35] Firth and Rait 425.

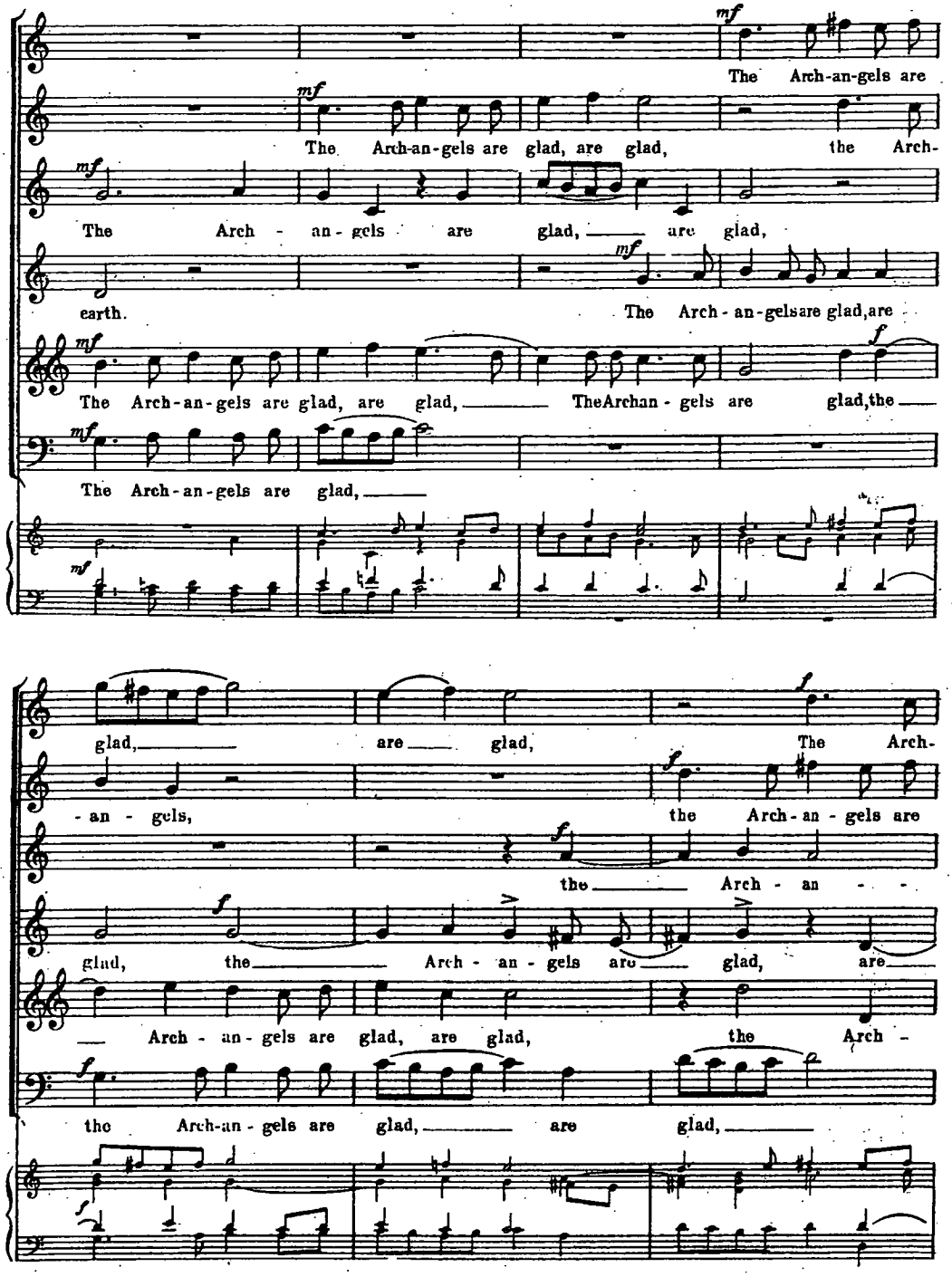
Civil War and Interregnum period is to receive a fair assessment, the notion of re-instatement must overcome the prevailing image of unfounded destruction.

The similarities between the sixteenth-century reformers and the mid-seventeenth-century Puritan establishment are so strong they become almost disturbing. As can be seen from *Histriomastix*, one of the most heartfelt issues of the latter was undoubtedly that of word clarity. Prynne resolutely points out that in cathedral music the text:

> is so charnted and mixsed, and mangled [that of] the very matter it selfe is nothing understanded at all.[36]

Organs may have played a part in this defamation, most notably in their "piping," but the primary culprit lay in the music itself – in the compositional techniques and performance practices of pre-Commonwealth sacred music. As the following example from *This Day Christ was Born* by William Byrd illustrates, text could be repeated, extended and displaced over several parts rather than clearly declared:

[36] Prynne 285.


The Arch-an-gels are
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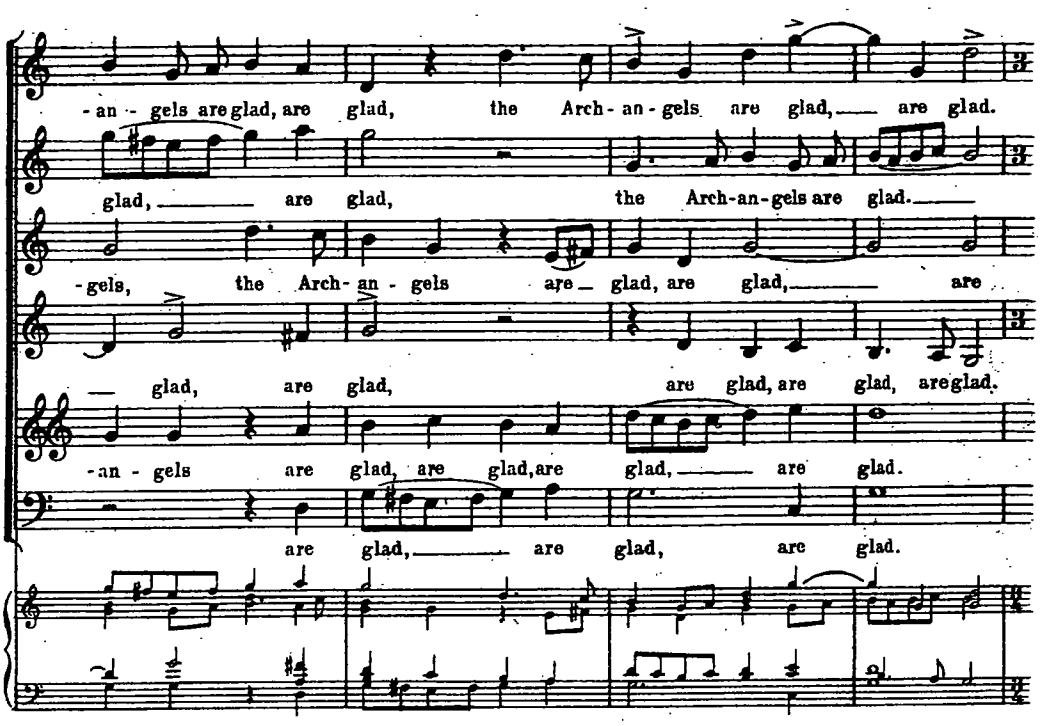

Ex. 2. William Byrd. *This Day Christ was Born (A Caroll for Christmas Day).*[37]

For a Protestant religious group to whom the word of God became even more sacrosanct against the sacramentally based worship and ceremonialism of the Catholic and Catholic-influenced Anglican Church, elaborate music, or more specifically its concealment of the text, was never likely to be popular. The opinions of Prynne may initially appear harsh on account of their wording, but underneath them lay very real concerns as to the appropriateness of music in worship and its role in reducing word clarity. In itself, and leaving behind the harsh imagery that almost invariably accompanies Puritanism, it seems a reasonable issue.

Such concerns were not without precedent. At the time of the Reformation, when stronger emphasis was beginning to be placed on the

[37] Edmund H. Fellowes, ed, *The Collected Works of William Byrd*, rev. Thurston Dart, vol. 14, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets (1611)*, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1963) 180-81.

individual's understanding of service and scripture, the issue of word clarity within the musical setting came to be a major focus. It was considered vital that the congregation be able to clearly distinguish the sacred text. In line with such principles, the Reformation brought about rules and recommendations to guide and determine compositional form, character and adherences. Any ambiguity surrounding the issue was decisively erased in the Lincoln Cathedral Injunctions of Edward VI. In April 1548 it was ordered that:

> they shall fromhensforthe synge or say no Anthemes off [*sic.*] our lady or other saints but onely of our lorde And them not in laten but chosyng owte the best and most soundyng to cristen religion they shall turne the same into Enlglishe setting thereunto a playn and distinct note, for every sillable one, they shall singe them and none other.[38]

Not only did this ruling declare the official position on the issue of text audibility in sacred music but it also provided musical recommendations for the achievement of this aim. Composers of the period were left in little doubt as to what was expected. For both the Commonwealth administration and the mid-sixteenth-century English Reformers the issue of word clarity was paramount.

The Injunctions of Edward VI were not the only declaration of this Reformation principle. Both Thomas Cranmer and Elizabeth I were adamant, at least on paper, that music should not impose on the understanding of the text. The former stated in a letter of 1544 to Henry VIII that:

> the song that should be made ... would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly.[39]

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[38] Edward VI, *Lincoln Cathedral Statues*, ed. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols., (Cambridge: CUP, 1892-97) vol. 1, 592-93.

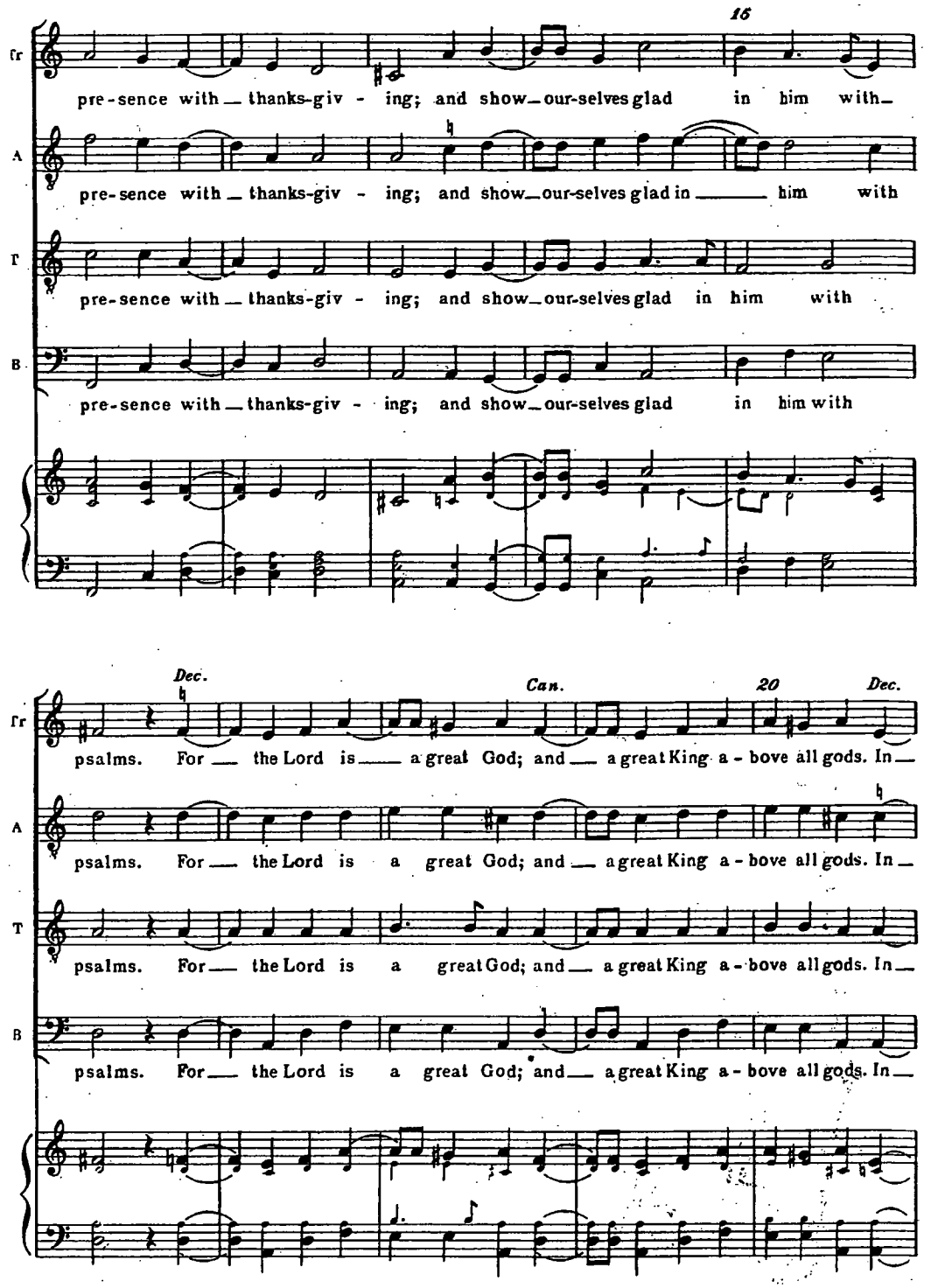
[39] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings & Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. John Edmund Cox, (Cambridge: CUP, 1846) 412.

Twenty-five years later, in the Royal Injunctions of 1559, the Virgin Queen recommended that there be:

> a modest distinct songue, so used in all partes of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as playnly understanded, as yf it were read without syngyng, and yet nevertheless, for the comfortyng of suche as delyght in musicke, it may be permitted that in the begynning, or in the ende of common prayers, eyther at morning or evenyng, there may be song an [*sic.*] Hymne, or such like songue, to the praise of almightie god, in the best sort of melodie that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymne may be understanded and perceyved.[40]

Although Elizabeth was willing to admit that such treatment might diminish musical interest, and was prepared to allow a hymn or anthem as a sort of concession, the issue of word clarity was pre-eminent.

[40] Elizabeth I, *Iniunctions geven by the Queenes Maiesties, Anno domini 1559, The fyrste yeere of our soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth*, (London: R. Jugge, 1559), item 49.


16
Tr
pre-sence with thanks-giv - ing; and show our-selves glad in him with
A
pre-sence with thanks-giv - ing; and show our-selves glad in him with
T
pre-sence with thanks-giv - ing; and show our-selves glad in him with
B
pre-sence with thanks-giv - ing; and show our-selves glad in him with
Dec.
Can.
20
Dec.
Tr
psalms. For the Lord is a great God; and a great King a - bove all gods. In
A
psalms. For the Lord is a great God; and a great King a - bove all gods. In
T
psalms. For the Lord is a great God; and a great King a - bove all gods. In
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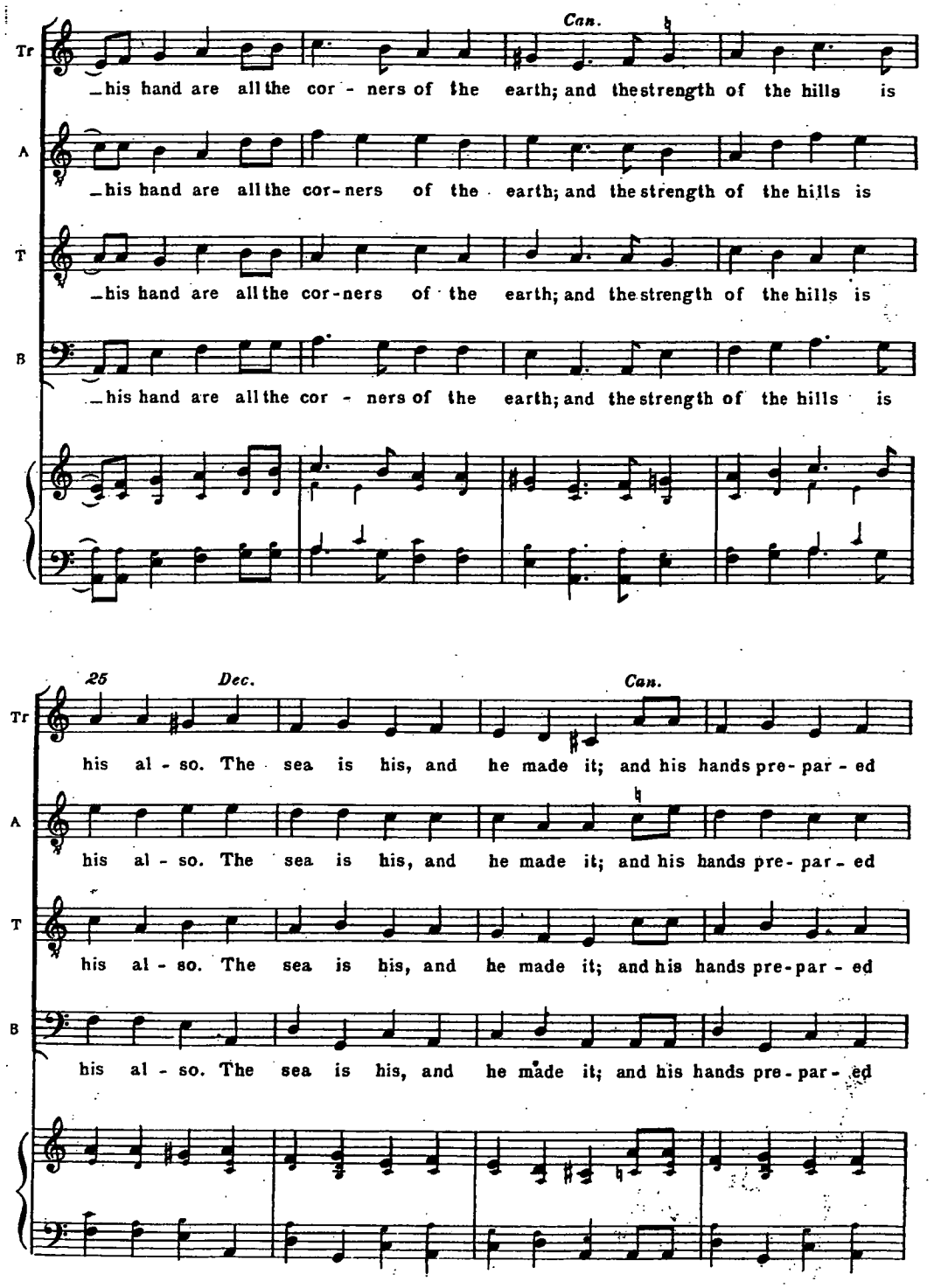
psalms. For the Lord is a great God; and a great King a - bove all gods. In



Ex. 3. Thomas Tallis. Venite from *The Dorian Service.*[41]

The idea that sung texts should "be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing" was both extensive and permeating.[42] Respect for the clarity of

[41] Leonard Ellinwood, ed., *Thomas Tallis: English Sacred Music, II Service Music*, rev. Paul Doe, *Early English Church Music*, vol. 13, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971) 2-3.

the text was an ideal to which adherence was expected. For music, the driving issue of the Reformation was word audibility and clear textual understanding.

England was not the only nation where the topic of word clarity was deemed worthy of discussion. One of the most famous examples was undoubtedly at the Council of Trent (1545-1563) where this issue, along with that of secularisation, was considered to be of vital importance. In 1562 it was recommended that:

> [a]ll things should indeed be so ordered that the Masses, whether they be celebrated with or without singing, may reach tranquilly into the ears and hearts of those who hear them, when everything is executed clearly and at the right speed. In the case of those Masses which are celebrated with singing and with organ, let nothing profane be intermingled, but only hymns and divine praises. The whole plan of singing in musical modes should be constituted not to give empty pleasure to the ear, but in such a way that the words be clearly understood by all, and theirs the hearts of the listeners be drawn to desire of heavenly harmonies, in the contemplation of the joys of the blessed. ... They shall also banish from church all music that contains, whether in the singing or in the organ playing, things that are lascivious or impure.[43]

When viewed as part of a wider phenomenon, Puritan attitudes towards church music become more contextualised and comprehensible. Similarly, when placed in their correct historical reference, the restrictions imposed by the Commonwealth government become more understandable. From this angle these policies begin to escape the binds of much of the historiography that accompanies the period and, in doing so, acquire a greater meaning in their own right.

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[42] Elizabeth I, item 49.

[43] Quoted in Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600*, (New York: Norton, 1998) 581. For the original Latin see Angelus Massarellus, Augustin Theiner and Gabriele Paleotti, *Acta genuine SS. Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III. Julio III. Et Pio IV. ... ab A. Massarello episcopo Thelesino ... conscripta, nunc primum integra edita ab A. Theiner ... Accedunt Acta ejusdem Concilii sub Pio. IV. A Cardinale G. Paleotto ...digesta, secundis curis expolitiora.* Fac. ed., 2 vols., (Zagreb: Lipsiae, 1874).

The links with the Reformation became even stronger with the realisation that English sacred music of the early and mid seventeenth century was generally a conservative repertoire. Whilst Italian composers such as Monteverdi and Gabrieli were producing sacred works in the *stile nuovo* and *cori spezzati* traditions, English composers were content to develop *prima prattica* styles. This can be seen in the contents of the *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641) by John Barnard. Even allowing for Barnard's deliberate exclusion of living composers, it becomes clear that cathedral music just prior to the outbreak of war was frequently of an earlier style:

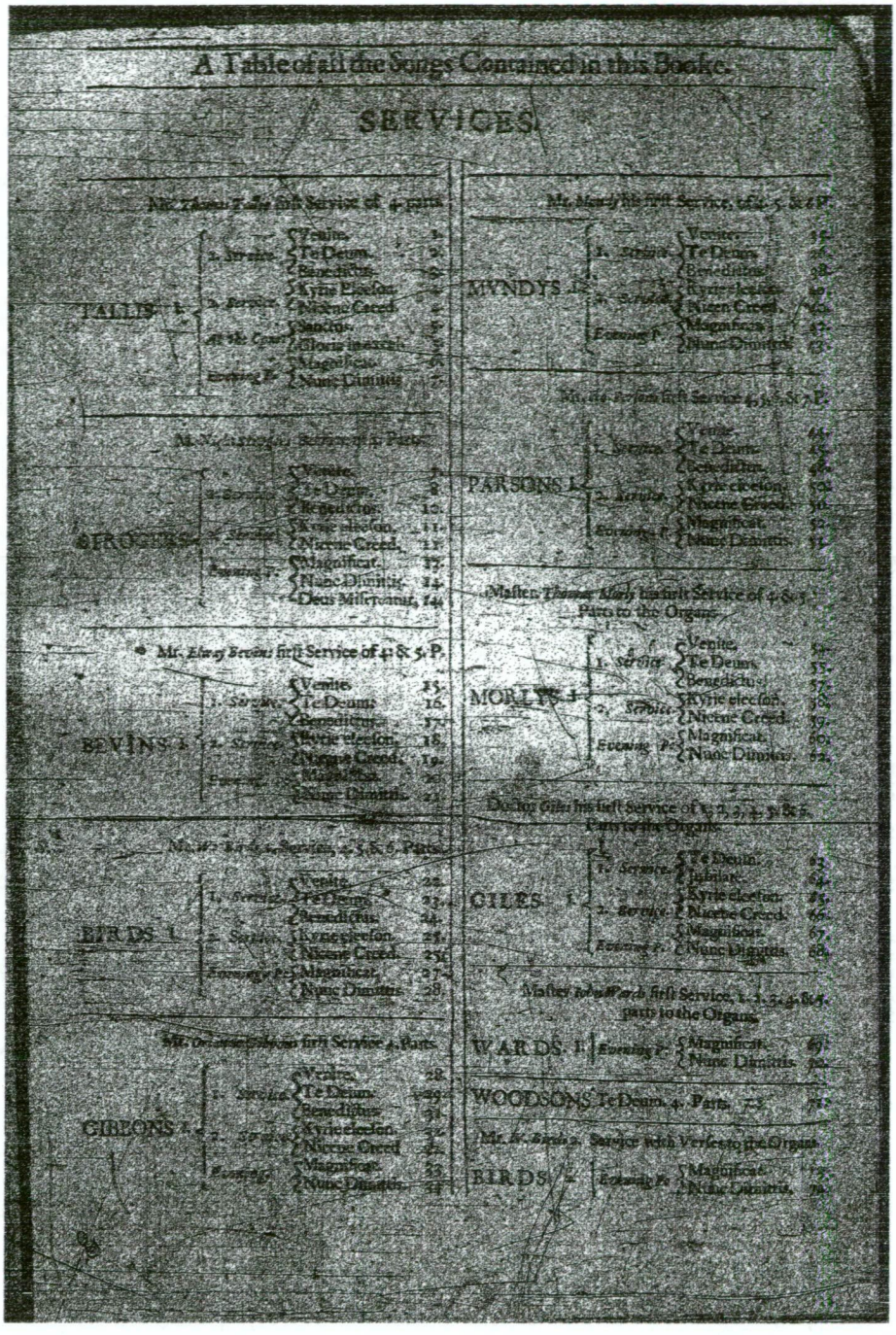
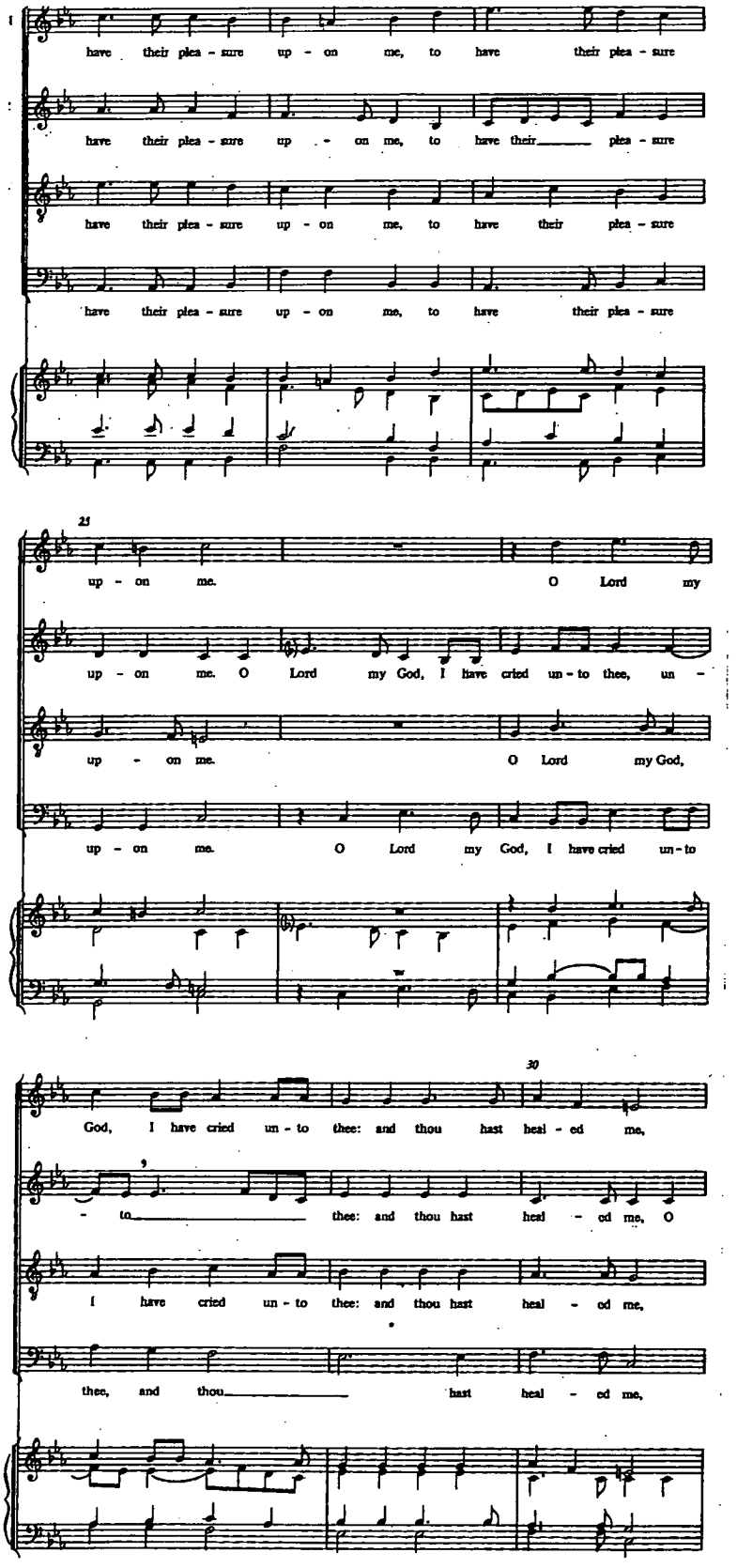


Fig. 3. John Barnard. Contents (excerpt), *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641).[44]

This is especially noticeable in Barnard's inclusion of earlier Tudor composers such as Thomas Tallis (*c.*1505-85), William Mundy (*c.*1529-91) and Christopher Tye (*c.*1500-*c.*1573):

[44] Barnard, contents.

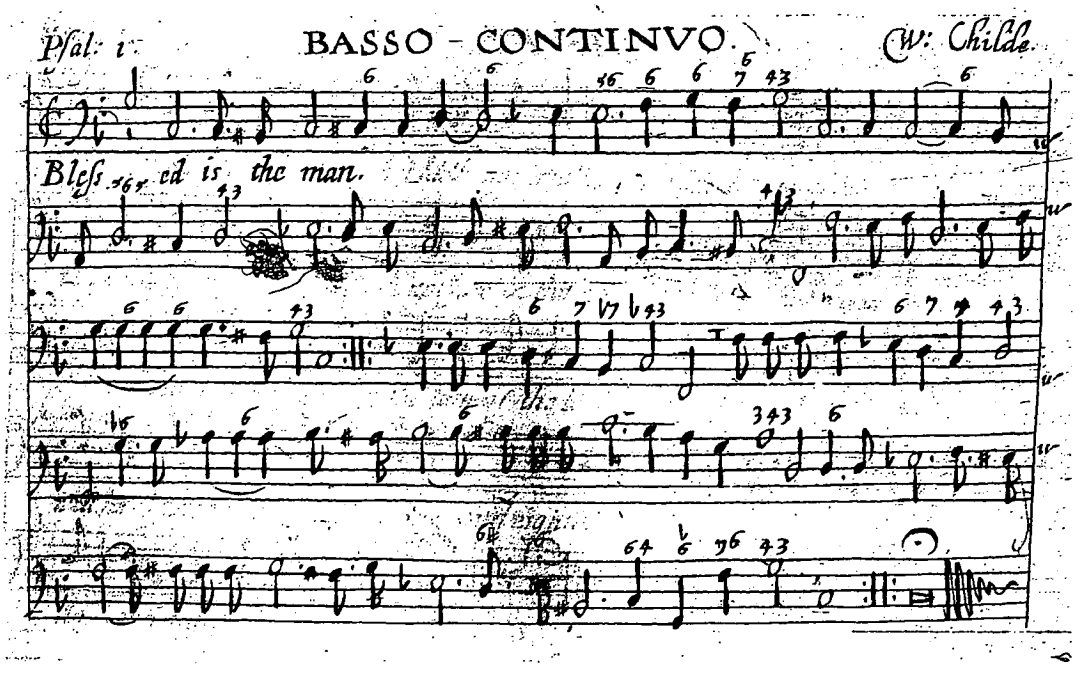


Ex. 4. Christopher Tye. *I Will Exalt Thee.*[45]

[45] John Morehen, ed. *Christopher Tye: I English Sacred Music, Early English Church Music*, vol. 19, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1977) 128-29.

By the time of the Civil War, a significant proportion of English sacred music was essentially conservative in style.

The prevalence of a more traditional repertoire can also be seen in the title of Willam Child's *The first Set of Psalms of III Voyces Fitt for private Chappels or other private meetings with a continued Base either for the Organ or Theorbo newly composed after the Italian way* (1639) where composition "after the Italian way" was promoted as a special feature rather than a stylistic norm.[46] An indication that Child was clear in his musical convictions can be seen in his basso continuo parts, such as for his setting of Psalm 1, "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly:"



Ex. 5. William Child. *Basso continuo* part of Psalm 1, "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly."[47]

[46] The work was reprinted in 1650 and 1656 under the title *Choise Musick of the Psalmes of David for Three Voices with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo.* See also Robert Thompson, George Jeffreys and the 'stile nuovo' in English Sacred Music: A New Date for his Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338," *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), 318. Thompson also mentions "Praise the Lord" from Walter Proter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) as displaying elements of the Italian style.

[47] William Child, *Choise Musick of the Psalmes of David for Three Voices with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo*, 1656.

This contrast between the contents of the Barnard and Child collections is representative of a wider dichotomy of pre-war sacred music. The Italian *seconda prattica* may have been popular in the private devotions of the aristocracy and nobility, but for public worship it was an earlier, more characteristically English style, that generally prevailed.

The mid seventeenth century witnessed a growing fear amongst many Britons about increasing Catholic influence, perceived or otherwise, in Church and State. In the sphere of religion, Puritan concerns intensified as the Church of England took on an increasingly Catholic guise with its greater emphasis on ceremony and adaptation of Protestant doctrines such as pre-destination. For the Puritans, once in power, attempting to return the Church to its Protestant roots was a logical progression. Yet this aspect of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music has generally been overlooked. In the absence of context the image alters substantially. Divorced from the wider picture the colours of Interregnum sacred music become drably grey and its portrayal inordinately harsh. However, when considered in light of the political and religious circumstances of the time, Commonwealth treatment of church music emerges as something more understandable. It was, in many respects, a significant point on a Reformation journey rather than an isolated display of anti-musical aggression by a powerful group of Puritanical fundamentalists.

Such concerns over increasing Catholic influence within the English church were further exacerbated by the marriage of Charles I to Henrietta Maria in 1625. As part of the wheeling and dealing that accompanied royal marriages of

this period, Charles' French Catholic princess was allowed to bring her attendants and freely practice her religion. Even more significant however was the extension of these concessions to the wider Catholic population and the declaration of Pope Urban VIII that Henrietta Maria was to be:

> the Esther of her oppressed people, the Clotilda who subdued to Christ her victorious husband, the Aldebriga whose nuptials brought religion into Britain.[48]

Nor did the close referrals of Henrietta Maria to the Virgin help matters. In *Maria Triumphans* (1635), an anonymous defence of the Virgin against Protestant charges, the author dedicated the work to:

> She, whom it cheefely concerns, will a new become your Patronesse: And thus will *Mary* intercede for *Mary*, the Queene of Heauen for a great Queene upon earth; the mother of our *Celestiall King*, for the mother of our future terrene King [Charles II]. And finally, by your protecting and pleading for it, the Immaculate Virgin will (in a more full Manner) become an Aduocate for you, her *Advocate*.[49]

With the presence of this Catholic influence, and the potential threat to the English Church, it is not surprising that Puritan opposition to perceived Catholic incursions were so strong.

The lamentations of William Prynne on the state of church music and the Commonwealth emphasis on accomplishing "the blessed Reformation so happily begun" point to a vast distance, commonplace in much human endeavour, between theory and practice, ideal and reality.[50] Despite recommendations for the employment of plain and syllabic settings, response from the musical community was not universal. Although some composers were prepared to follow the prescribed homophonic path, others were more liberal in their interpretation.

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[48] Mary Anne E. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria: Including her Private Correspondence with Charles I*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1857) 7.
[49] Anonymous, *Maria Triumphans*, 1635.
[50] Firth and Rait 425.

Musically this was fortunate as it opened the way for many of the achievements of composers such as Byrd, Weelkes, Tomkins and Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625). Whilst musical expression can of course be achieved through a strictly homophonic and syllabic setting, a more varied compositional approach opens up an even greater number of communicative possibilities. In spite of Reformation guidelines it soon became:

> quite clear that, whatever straitjackets were applied to composers at this time, sooner or later the sheer musicianship – the contrapuntal craftsmanship, the desire to organise in a logical fashion, the wish to communicate with the hearer in purely musical terms (as well as through the text) – came to the surface like a cork in water.[51]

Yet such treatment also provoked opposition from those, such as the Puritans, who held stricter views regarding the correct use of music in worship. Had the recommendation of "a playn and distinct note, for every sillable one" been strictly adhered to, Commonwealth reactions to English sacred music may well have been considerably different.[52]

An examination of post-Reformation manuscripts and published sources quickly reveals the compositional diversity of the period. As the famous setting of *Salvator Mundi* by Thomas Tallis (*c.*1505-85) clearly illustrates, the definition of what exactly constituted "a playn and distinct note" was open to interpretation.[53] Rather than vertically align the text, a technique that by its nature would have assured clarity, Tallis instead adopted a form of "staggered homophony" in which the entries and melodic lines of various parts were displaced against each other. Nor was his textual declaration entirely syllabic, with a number of words receiving melismatic treatment:

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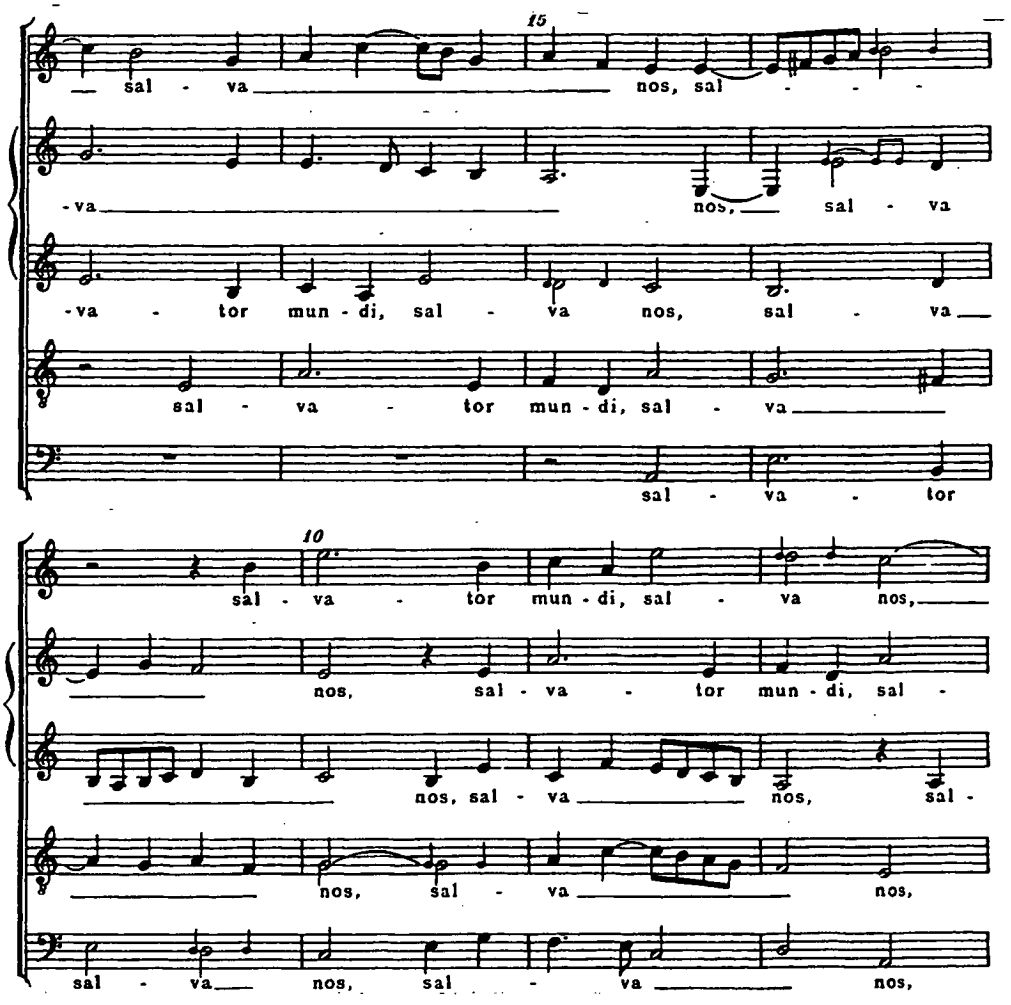
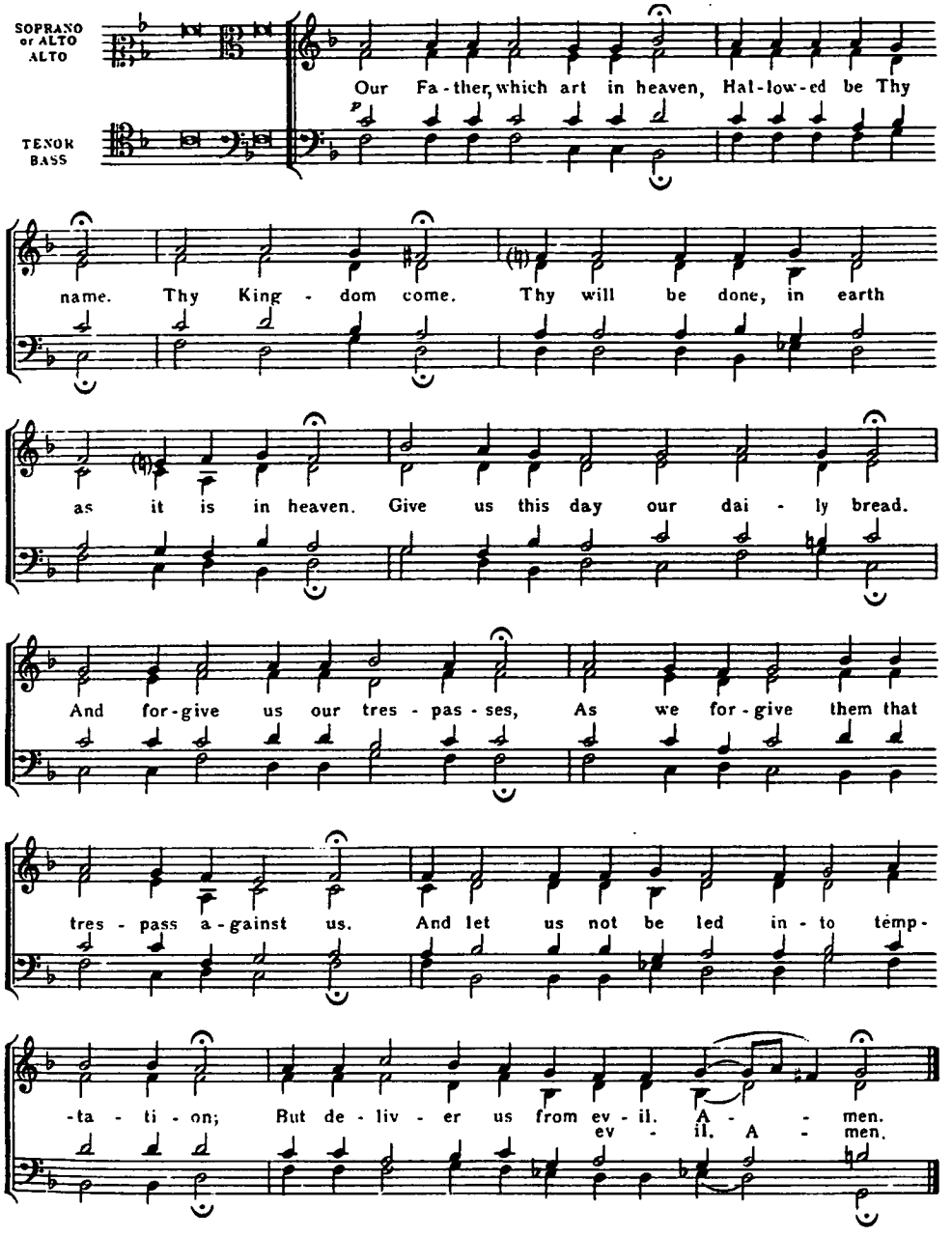
[51] Pike 74.
[52] Edward VI 592-93.
[53] Edward VI 592-93.



Ex. 6. Thomas Tallis. *Salvator Mundi.*[54]

In contrast was the treatment of the text of "The Lord's Prayer" by Robert Stone (1516-1613) where the setting was resoundingly vertical:

[54] Peter Le Huray, ed., *The Treasury of English Church Music, 1545-1650*, 1965, rpt, (Cambridge: CUP, 1982) 15. *Salvator Mundi* was one of thirty-two works included in *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* published by Tallis and Byrd in 1575. That the work should have had a Latin text is not surprising. In places where Latin was considered to be "understanded of the people," such as in the royal court and Oxbridge colleges, it was deemed an acceptable language for worship.



Ex. 7. Robert Stone. "The Lord's Prayer."[55]

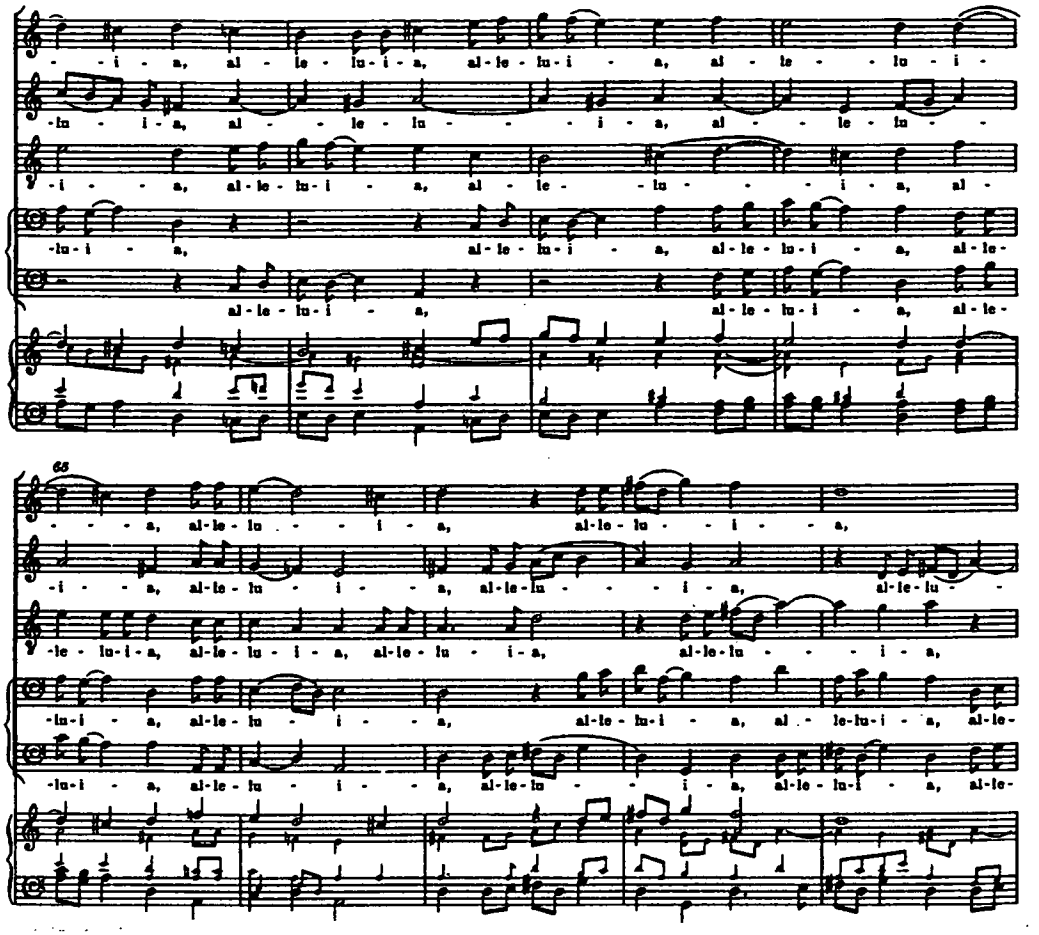
As the differences between these two works alone clearly illustrate, the compositional guidelines of the Reformation brought a mixed response.

Yet it was not simply an issue of voice entry and time delay but also one of compositional creativity and political awareness. By separating vocal entries in

[55] Le Huray 21. Despite his long life this is the only known surviving work by Stone.

the manner of Tallis' *Salvator Mundi*, the audibility of the words became lessened, the extent typically dependant on the number of parts affected. It was a style that saluted the notion of an unencumbered syllabic setting by presenting a vertically divided homorhythmic texture in lieu of blatant polyphony whilst simultaneously eschewing the clearest possible method of textual communication. This at times uneasy alliance between Reformation guidelines and compositional desire can also be seen in the frequently polyphonic treatment of words such as "Amen and "Alleluia." With each already possessing a greatly enhanced clarity by means of their context, combined with a long pre-Reformation history of such treatment, many composers felt little hesitation in seizing the opportunity for detailed polyphony.[56] One such example can be seen in the anthem *Alleluia, I heard a Voice* by Thomas Weelkes where the word "Alleluia" was given an extended treatment.

[56] An example of such settings can be seen in the work of Dunstable, and particularly in his approach to the final "Amen" in the free-standing settings of the "Gloria". See John Dunstable, *Collected Works*, ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Musica Britannica* 8, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1953).



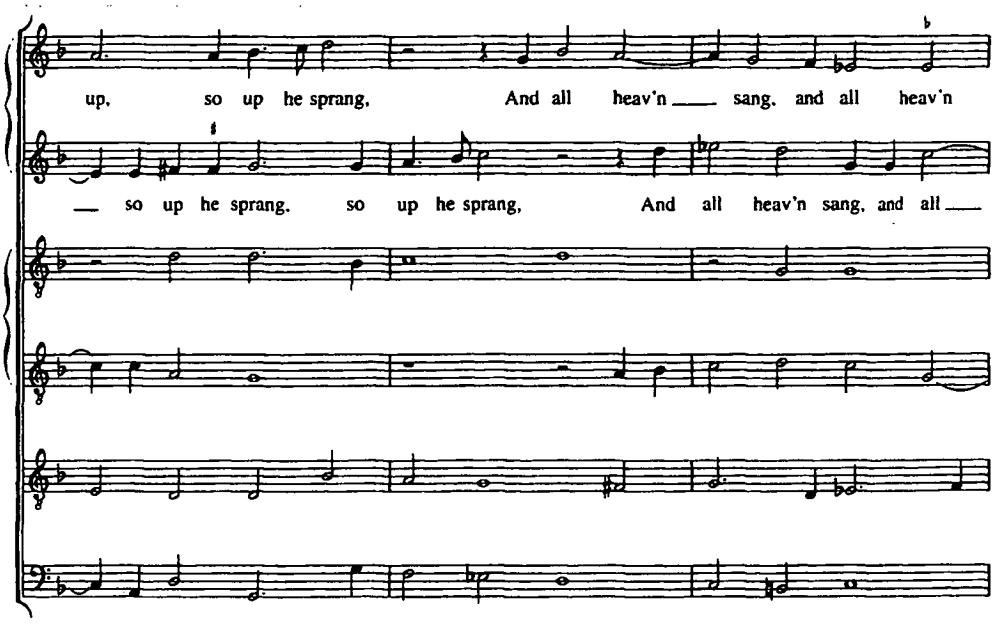
Ex. 8. Thomas Weelkes. *Alleluia, I heard a Voice.*[57]

Contextual clarity aside, such writing did little to promote textual audibility. In many instances there was a vast distance between deviation from, and adherence to, the musical expectations of the Reformation.

Commonwealth attempts "to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun" were not solely brought about by the issue of text setting.[58] For composers, some of the impetus for the incorporation of polyphony stemmed from a desire to integrate madrigalian elements into sacred music, an understandable

[57] Thomas Weelkes, *Collected Anthems*, ed. David Brown, Walter Collins and Peter Le Huray, *Musica Britannica* 23, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1966) 5.
[58] Firth and Rait 425.

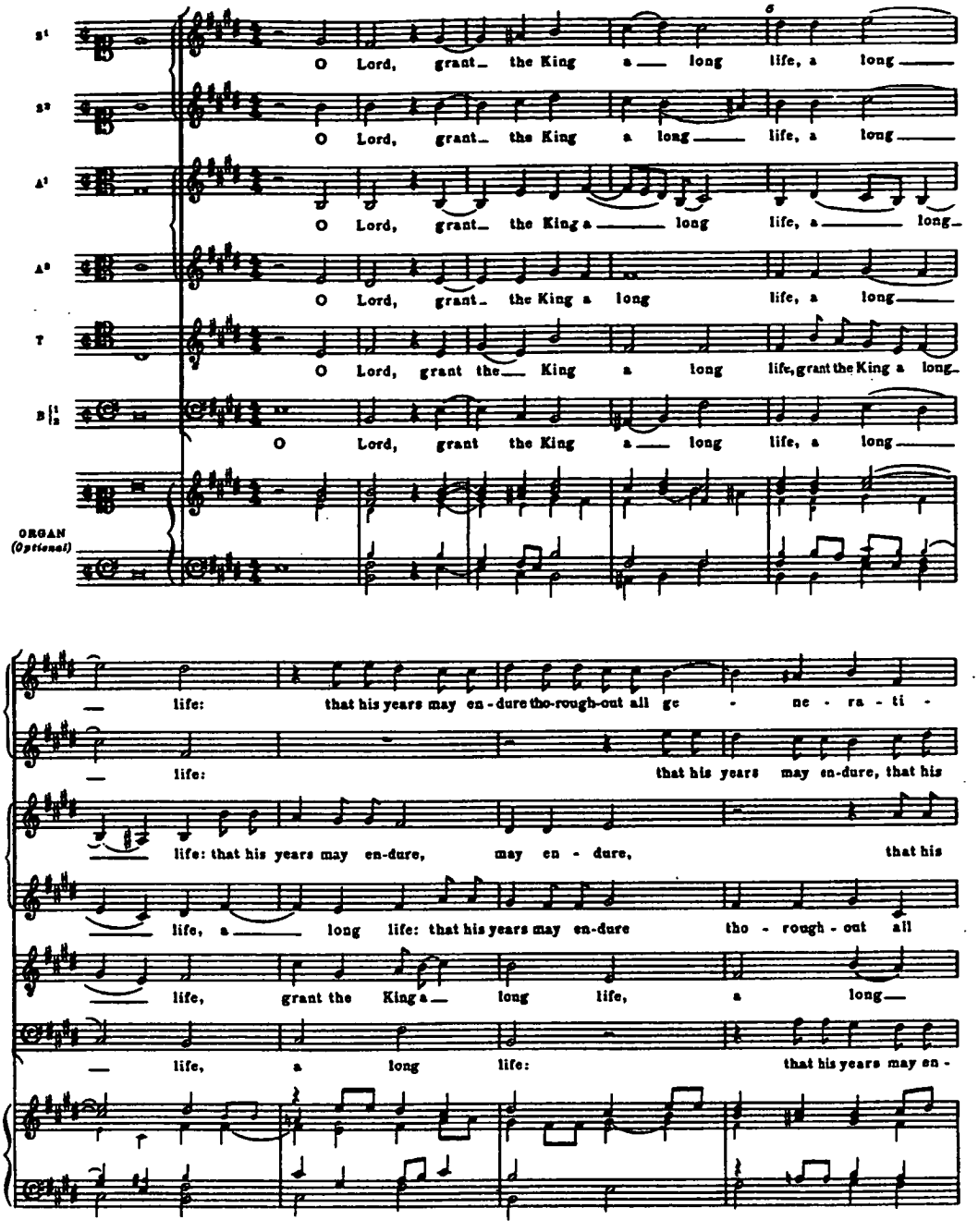
enthusiasm given the popularity of the secular genre. Of these, by far the most favoured was the idea of word painting – words such as "exalted" and "came down from heaven" naturally invited ascending and descending treatment. One of many examples of such usage can be seen in the six-voice "I bring you tiding" from the *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts* (1615) by John Amner in which the words "so up he sprang" were given stereotypical treatment:



Ex. 9. John Amner. "I bring you tiding" from the *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts* (1615).[59]

Aspects of visual word painting, or "eye music," can also be seen in the work of a number of composers, particularly those who were also madrigalists. In his anthem *O Lord, Grant the King a Long Life*, Weelkes appealed to both the eye and ear in his use of extended note values for the words "long life."

[59] John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*, 1615, ed. John Morehen, *The English Madrigalists* 40, (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000) 103. The lower four parts are viols and with such an instrumentation, rather than an organ which would have placed it more firmly in the liturgical setting, the work would almost certainly have been intended for domestic use.



Ex. 10. Thomas Weelkes. *O Lord, Grant the King a Long Life.*[60]

For all their display and hidden humour however, the use of such compositional devices was a relatively discreet part of a much wider trend towards secularisation.

[60] Weelkes 53.

The concerns of Prynne about "all kinde of wanton and lewde trifling Songs, with piping of Organs" entering the service were not without precedent.[61] Organists had sometimes incorporated secular melodies into the service, and a sizeable percentage of vocal music was either based on, or included, elements of secularism. The main instrumental genre of the service, the voluntary, was essentially secular. Also referred to as a "verse," "fugue," "fantasia" or "fancy," these pieces were usually polyphonic and could be employed at varying points within the service – at entrance and exit or as a form of "incidental music." Roger North, in an essay entitled "The Excellent Art of Voluntary," stated that the purpose of the form was to:

> put in execution all the various states of body and mind, by a musical imitation, ... that his humour or *capriccio*, as well as good understanding and sence, shall in his fancy conjure up. He will be grave, reasonable, merry, capering and dancing, artificiall, malencholly, querulous, stately and proud, or submissive and humble, buisie, in haste, frighted, quarrell and fight, run walk, or consider, search, rejoice, prattle, weep, laugh insult [*sic.*], triumph; and at last, perhaps vanish out of sight all at once; or end in very good temper, and as one layd downe to rest or sleep. There is no end of the varietys of imitation in musick, so I leave that to imagination.[62]

An example of these "varietys of imitation" can be seen in the "Fantasia for Double Organ" by Orlando Gibbons:

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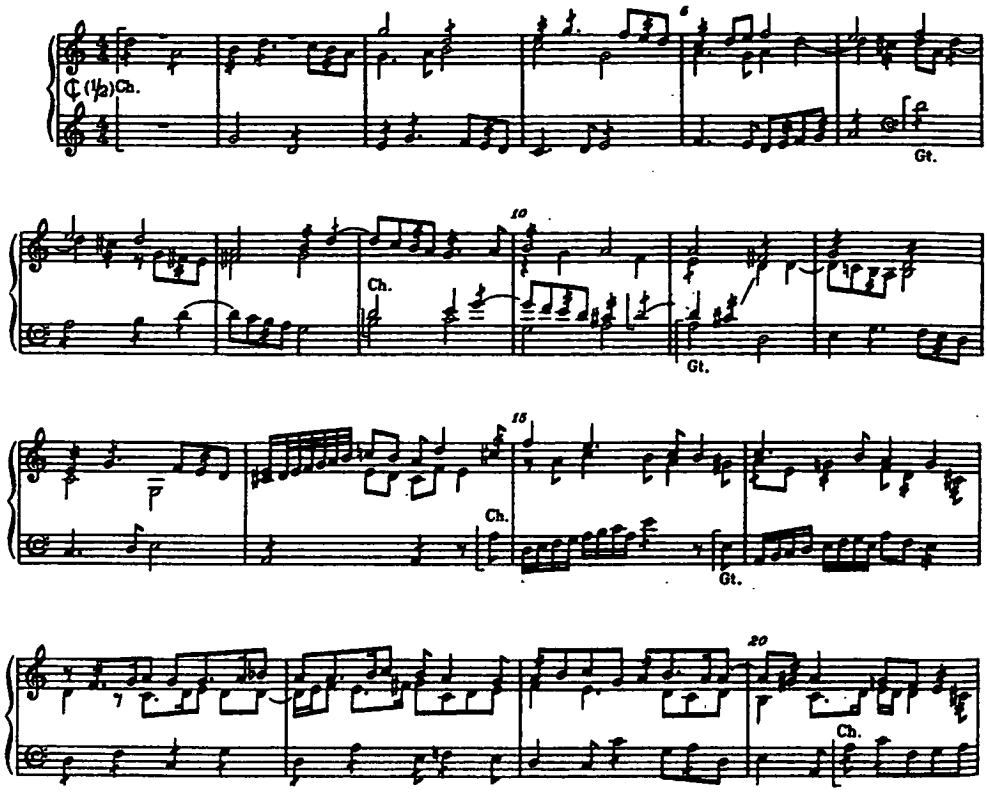
[61] Prynne 285.

[62] Roger North, *Roger North on Music: being a Selection form his Essays written during the years c.1695-1728*, ed. John Wilson, (London: Novello, 1959) 139-40.



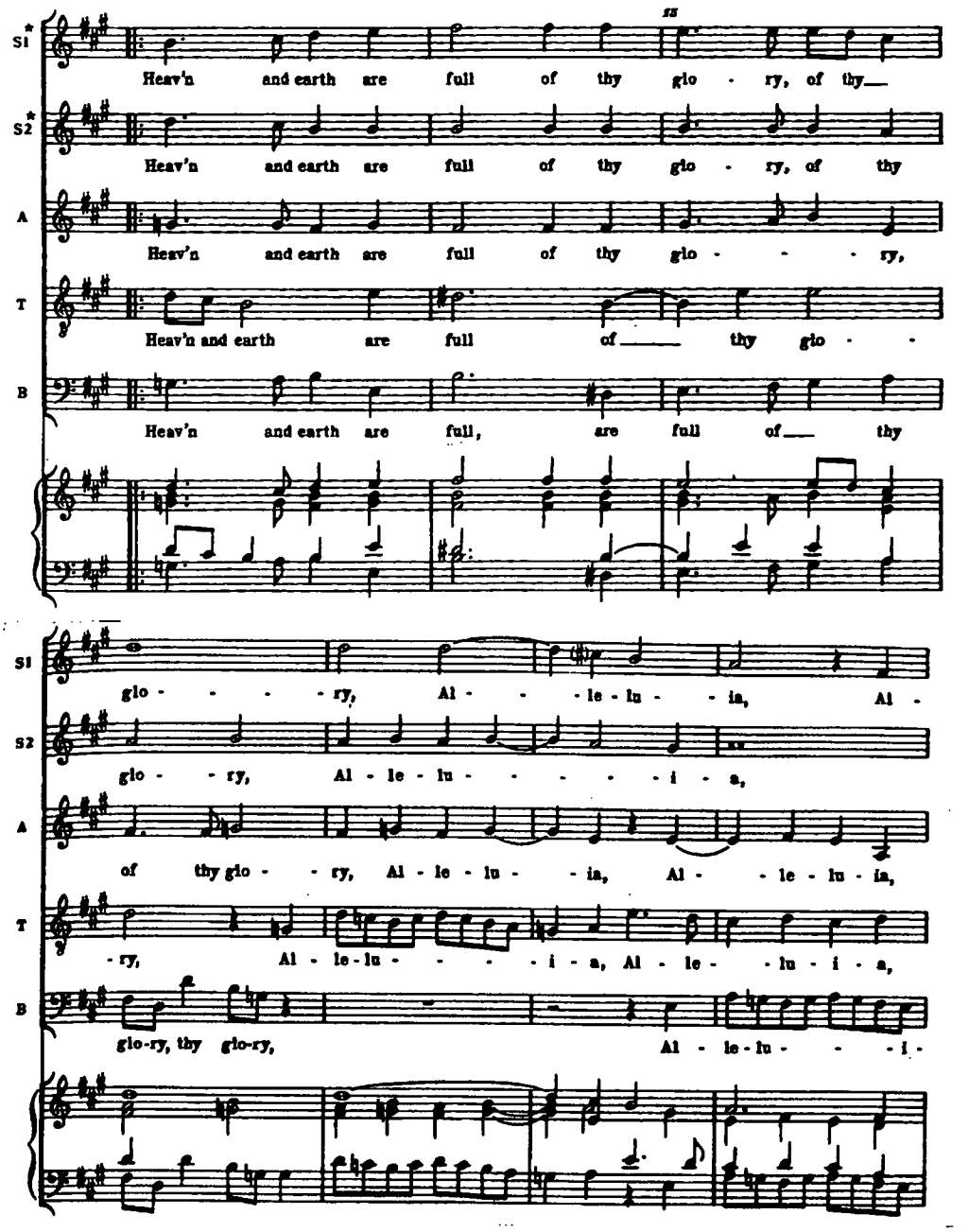
Ex. 11. Orlando Gibbons. "Fantasia for Double Organ."[63]

Aside from its suspect secular status and the frequent employment of polyphony, the use of the organ to accompany the choir, and in doing so potentially distort word clarity, made the instrument a likely target for Puritan aggression.

In adapting a secular work for sacred usage the ease of transferability was sometimes startling. Tomkins made full use of contrafactum in his five-voice anthem *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Sabaoth* where little was changed from his madrigal *See, See, the shepherds queene*:[64]

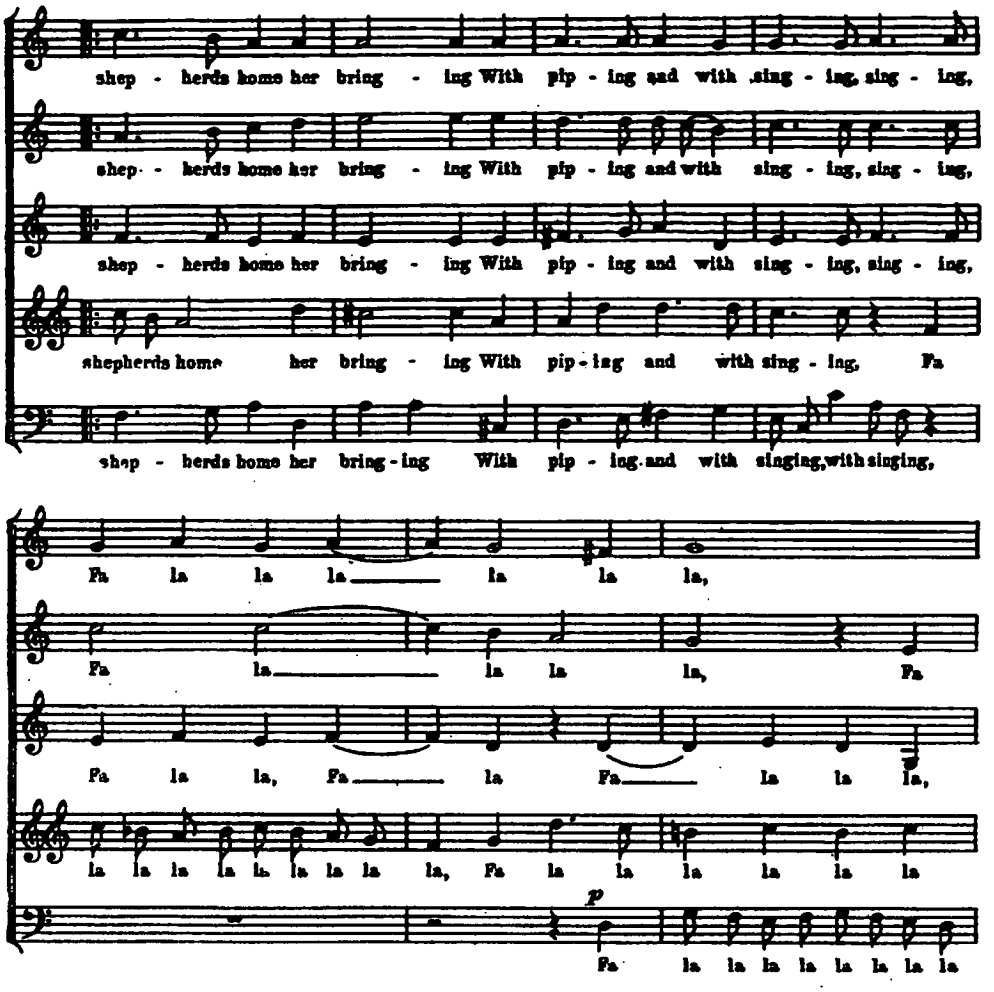
[63] During the seventeenth century the term "double organ" usually referred to an instrument with two manuals. See Stephen Bicknell, "Double Organ," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001; Orlando Gibbons, *Keyboard Music*, ed. Gerald Henrie, *Musica Britannica* 20, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1962) 8.

[64] John Irving, "Tomkins, Thomas," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed, 2001, 571.



Ex 12. Thomas Tomkins. *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Sabaoth.*[65]

[65] Thomas Tomkins, *Musica Deo sacra*, ed. B. Rose, *Early English Church Music* 37, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1991) 1.



Ex. 13. Thomas Tomkins. *See, See, the shepherds queene.*[66]

Given their madrigalian style, a similar connection may well have existed between the three-voice anthems *O Lord, how glorious are thy works* and *The hills stand about Jerusalem* and now-lost secular works.[67] In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the incorporation of madrigalisms into church music went well beyond the occasional use of word painting and impassioned texts.

By the time of the Civil War and Commonwealth, musical and textual elements were probably not the only aspects of sacred music to cause concern. In

[66] Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts*, ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart, *The English Madrigal School* 18, 2nd ed, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1960) 100.
[67] Irving 571.

keeping with the idea of the Elizabethan era as the golden age of English music, many writers have commented on, or alluded to, the high standard of church music performance during this period. Edward J. Dent spoke of the sixteenth century as a time when "music in England was at its highest level," whilst for Burney:

> [i]n speaking of Choral Music during the long and prosperous reign of Queen ELIZABETH, our nations [*sic.*] honour seems to require a more diffuse detail than at any other time: for perhaps we never had so just a claim to equality with the rest of Europe, where music was the most successfully cultivated. [68]

Yet given the status of England as a non-musical nation, for some such sentiments seem to have come as something of a surprise:

> [w]ith what looks like a single leap, English composers, hitherto fumblingly adjusting the methods of the Flemish to the vagaries of their tangled religious life, attained a sudden command over the processes of musical expression that is nearly as incredible as the victory of [*sic.*] the Armada.[69]

In the eyes of many, the sixteenth century was very much a golden age.[70]

Unfortunately however the prevailing image of a strong choral tradition in English cathedrals and chapels has some serious flaws. Whilst some establishments must have produced a high level of musical performance, the standards of many were severely affected by financial and other constraints. Just as the rapid inflation of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in many instances prohibited the maintenance of an organ, so too did it frequently prevent the upkeep of a choir. Around 1570, in London, Exeter, Oxford and York, payments to choir members seemed to have ceased in a number of churches and

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[68] Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England during the Seventeenth Century*, 1928, rpt (New York: Da Capo, 1965) 2; Burney 22.
[69] Donald N. Ferguson, *A History of Musical Thought*, (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1959) 180.
[70] See also Chapter Two, pp.57-59.

close to forty choirs were disbanded.[71] However according to one source musical decline in English places of worship had set in well before this. An anonymous and undated source, entitled *The praise of musick the profite and delight it bringeth to man and other the creatures of God And the necessary use of it in the service and Christian Churche of God*, revealed that:

> [t]he first occasion of the decay of musick in Cathedrall Churches and other places where musick and singing was hosed [*sic.*] and had yearlye alowance began about the nynthe year of Queene Elizabeth.[72]

The flourishing cathedral music tradition so romantically described by Dent, Burney and Ferguson in many instances appears to have been severely floundering underneath the weight of substantial economic burdens. The calamity of the English Civil War and Interregnum may well have struck an unhealthier organism than commonly thought.

In addition to these financial pressures, a sizeable number of institutions also felt the challenge of creating and maintaining a viable work ethic. Although many choirmasters, organists, choristers and lay clerks no doubt carried out their jobs admirably, others fell victim to pluralism, alcoholism and low standards. One of the most notorious examples of the latter shortcomings was Thomas Weelkes who was constantly issued complaints from Chichester cathedral regarding his behaviour and loyalty to duty. The final blow came in 1619 when it was recorded that:

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[71] Alan Smith. *The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court during the reign of Elizabeth I.* Ph.D. diss., (U of Birmingham, 1967) 265. Cited in Temperley 13-14.

[72] *The praise of musick the profite and delight it bringeth to man and other the creatures of God And the necessary use of it in the service and Christian Churche of God.* n.d. British Library, Royal MS.18 Bxix, fol.6.

> Thomas Weelkes who divers times and very often comes so disguised either from the tavern or ale house into the quire as is much to be lamented, for in these humours he will both curse and swear most dreadfully and so profane the service of God.[73]

His alcoholism grew even worse during the final years to his death in 1623. At Wells Cathedral the problems were not limited to one individual. In 1594 George Huishe, verger and bellringer, was "accused of incontinence with Joan Teight upon her confession" a year after a vicar choral, Thomas Everett, was "cited to appear ... to answer certain articles touching the reformation of his morals" for "getting his maidservant, Joan Teight, with child."[74] Such behaviour did little to advocate the cause of institutionalised church music to the wider religious community and would have by no means endeared this repertoire to the Commonwealth authorities.

Issues of loyalty and attendance were very much at the forefront. With rising inflation and the pressure of multiple appointments often needed to supply an adequate level of salary and career satisfaction, pluralism was a relatively common occurrence. Tomkins had to grapple with such problems as he juggled between duties at the Chapel Royal and Worcester Cathedral, although in his case the practice seems to have worked adequately. Less fortunate however was the experience of his half-brother Giles (after 1587-1668) whose duties as organist of Salisbury Cathedral were added to on 2nd April 1630 with a:

> [w]arrant to swear Giles Tomkins a musician for the virginals with the voices in ordinary, in the place of Richard Deering, deceased.[75]

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[73] Quoted in Walter S. Collins, "Recent Discoveries Concerning the Biography of Thomas Weelkes," *Music & Letters* 44 (1963): 129. Chichester Diocesan Record Office, Episc. I/20/9.

[74] William Henry Benbow Bird and W. Paley Baildon, eds, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 2 vols, Historical Manuscripts Commission, (York: Johnson, 1907-14), vol. 2: 330, 328, 327.

[75] Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460-1700)*, rpt 1909, (London: Novello, 1973) 71. Another warrant secured £40 per annum in wages.

Tomkins was simply unable to supply music for both and was criticised by the administration of Salisbury for his frequent absence, although it appears that the situation was allowed to continue until the outbreak of civil war.[76] Either way, such practices can not have enhanced musical standards.

In addition to non-attendance and questionable conduct were the issues of behaviour and morale. As Richard Bancroft (1544-1610) discovered from interviews with clerks at St. Paul's Cathedral, there was often little compulsion amongst church musicians to attend a service for its full duration. As he was told on a 1598 visit:

> [w]e be for the most part of us very slack in coming into the choir after the bell is tolled, and when we be there divers think the service very long till they be out of it again.[77]

Whilst many incidents were probably omitted from written record, lest they should reflect badly on those in charge, the fact that such a variety were recorded suggests a fairly common and widespread state of affairs. The avoidance of textual opacity and secularisms were paramount issues for the Puritans, but some degree of Commonwealth opposition to selected sacred repertoire must also have come from the unprofessional attitudes and practices that frequently accompanied this music. The Elizabethan period and early seventeenth century may well have been a golden age at some institutions but for others these decades were characterised by economic hardship, behavioural problems, limited loyalty and low morale. In this respect at least, the wondrous age the Civil War and

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[76] See G.A. Philipps, "Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I," *Music & Letters* 58, 1 (1977): 29-42.

[77] Quoted in Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967) 43 from W.S. Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinem Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, 1873.

Interregnum befell may not have been as perfect as historiography has so often made it seem.

Given the significant contrast between the traditional historiographical image of mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth-century English music, it becomes extremely easy to overlook the connections between the two. Yet the links are significant. In many respects the musical climates of the Reformation and Commonwealth ran parallel – in both cases choral foundations were disbanded, property was seized or destroyed and large numbers of individuals were left unemployed. In order to fully understand Puritan attitudes towards the use of music in worship their concerns must be considered within a wider historical context. They cannot simply be isolated or divorced from the rest of history, dismissed solely as the viewpoint of a group of fanatic and misguided individuals who somehow came into power in England during the mid seventeenth century. Yet in many instances this is what has happened. For the most part music historiography has tended to view the Cromwellian regime as the oppressor of a glorious tradition, namely the Elizabethan age, and given limited thought to possible precursors of the Interregnum. The historical prelude to Commonwealth restrictions on church music has all too frequently been overlooked. This is unfortunate – only by considering the state of English sacred music prior to the Civil War can a sincere effort at determining the effects of the mid seventeenth century on its music be realistically and justifiably attempted. Quite simply, the Puritans were not the first to express concern about the use of music in worship, nor were the ideals they espoused particularly new.

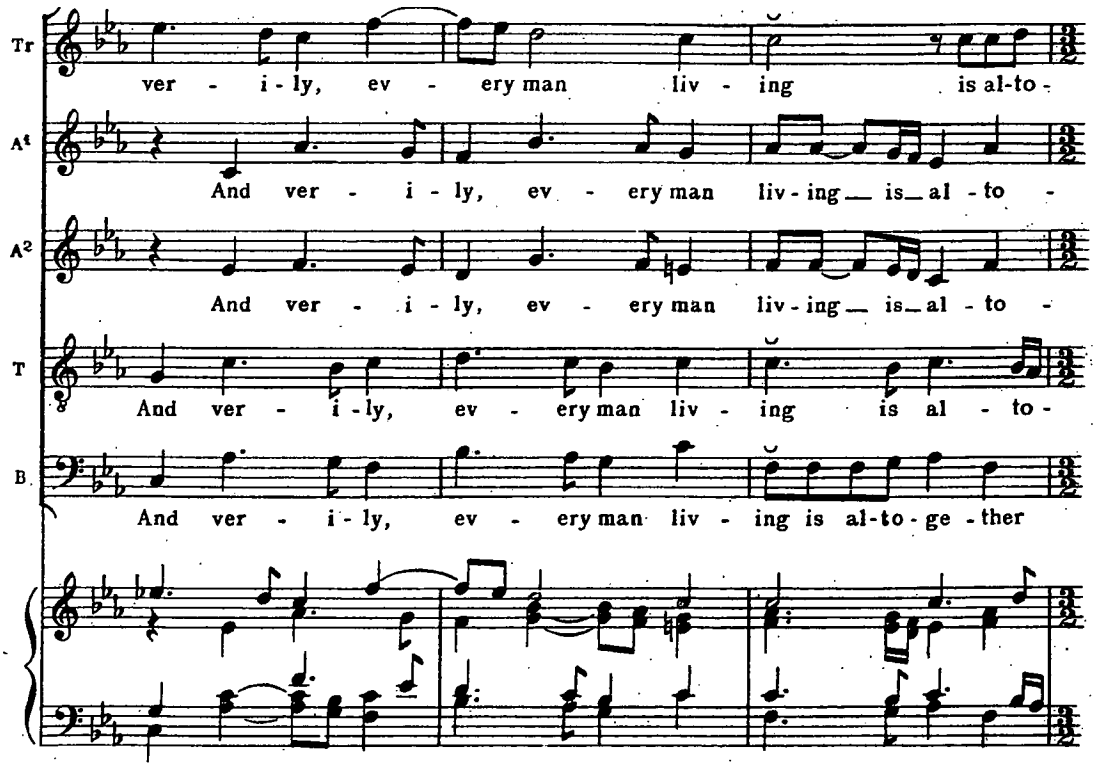
Co-existing with these strong and long-standing historical precedents were a set of outcomes that were far from universal. Whilst much has been written on the negative results of the period on English sacred music, and some of its effects were indeed devastating, considerably less attention has been given to more neutral or positive outcomes. Not all organs were destroyed and not every piece of church music went up in flames. In many cases instruments were either dismantled or shut down rather than irreversibly demolished, and music could frequently be hidden or dispersed well before the arrival of Parliamentary armies or Commonwealth authorities. In stark contrast to the traditional historiographical perception of mass musical carnage, sacred music generally continued in one form or another. The 1640s and 1650s were not entirely disastrous – the Civil War and Interregnum produced an altered set of circumstances and a wide variety of results. Beyond the release of pent up military frustration, or in the hands of an ultra-extremist, an organised, widespread campaign against church music manuscripts or publications seems rather futile amid the disbandment of choirs and disuse of organs. That material was destroyed, and that for posterity the results were often tragic, cannot be denied, but at the same time it must be acknowledged that not every note hit the Puritanical bonfire. Had this been the case, the revival of pre-Civil War services and anthems at the time of the Restoration would not have been possible. As suggested in part by the many sieges of the Civil War, and by the significant proportion of this repertoire currently or previously housed in private collections, individuals were often blessed with sufficient time to hide music or disseminate it amongst local families.[78]

[78] One of the largest collections from this period was that of Henry Aldrich (1648-1710) which contained around eight thousand works by sixteenth and seventeenth-century English and Italian

Surprisingly, the Commonwealth regime indirectly assisted in this process. In the "Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God" of 4th January 1645 it was decreed that:

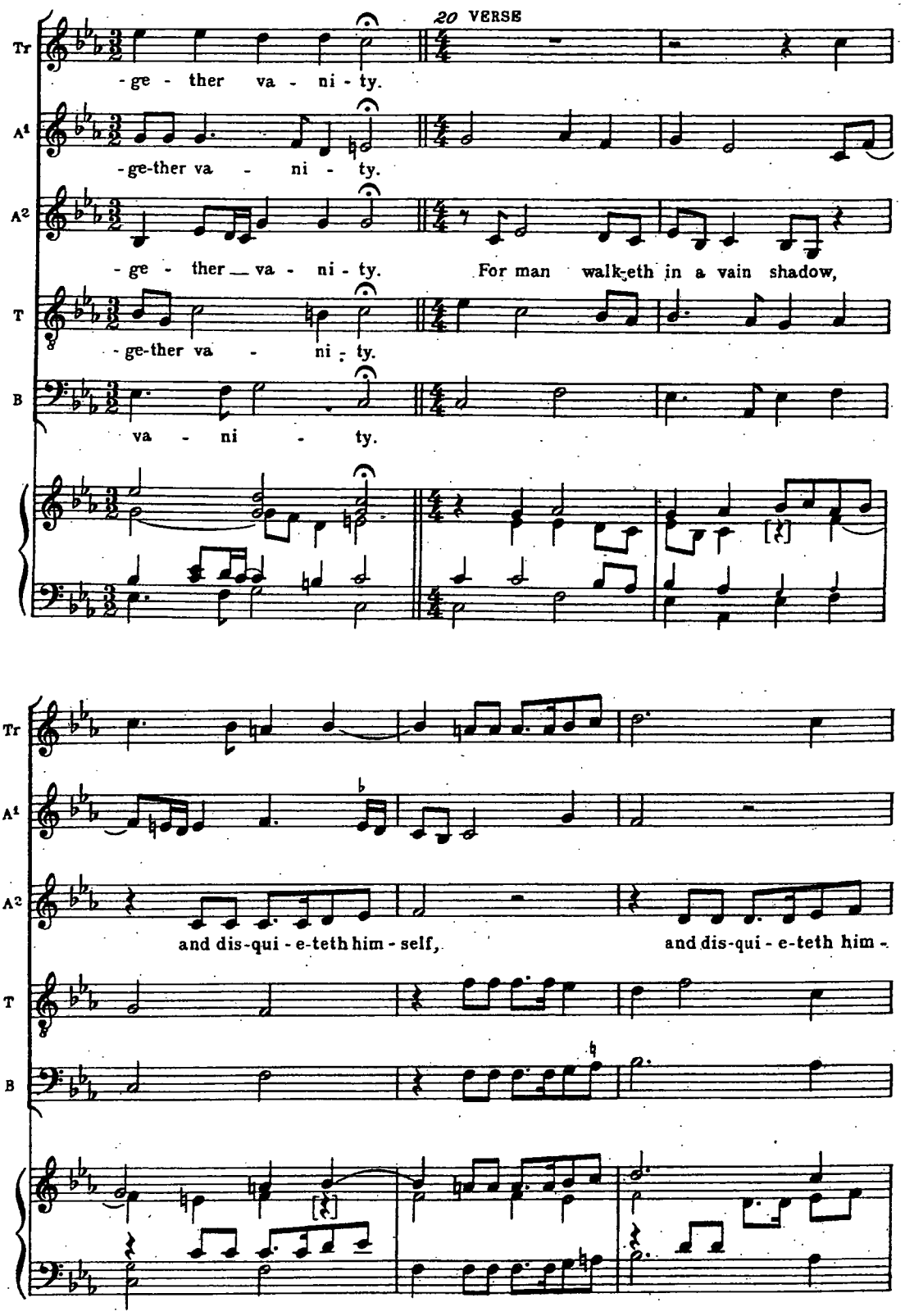
> The Directory for publique Worship herein set forth, shall be henceforth used, pusued, and observed, according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, in all Exercises of the publique Worship of God, in every Congregation, Church, Chappel and place of publique Worship within this Kingdome of England, and Dominion of Wales.[79]

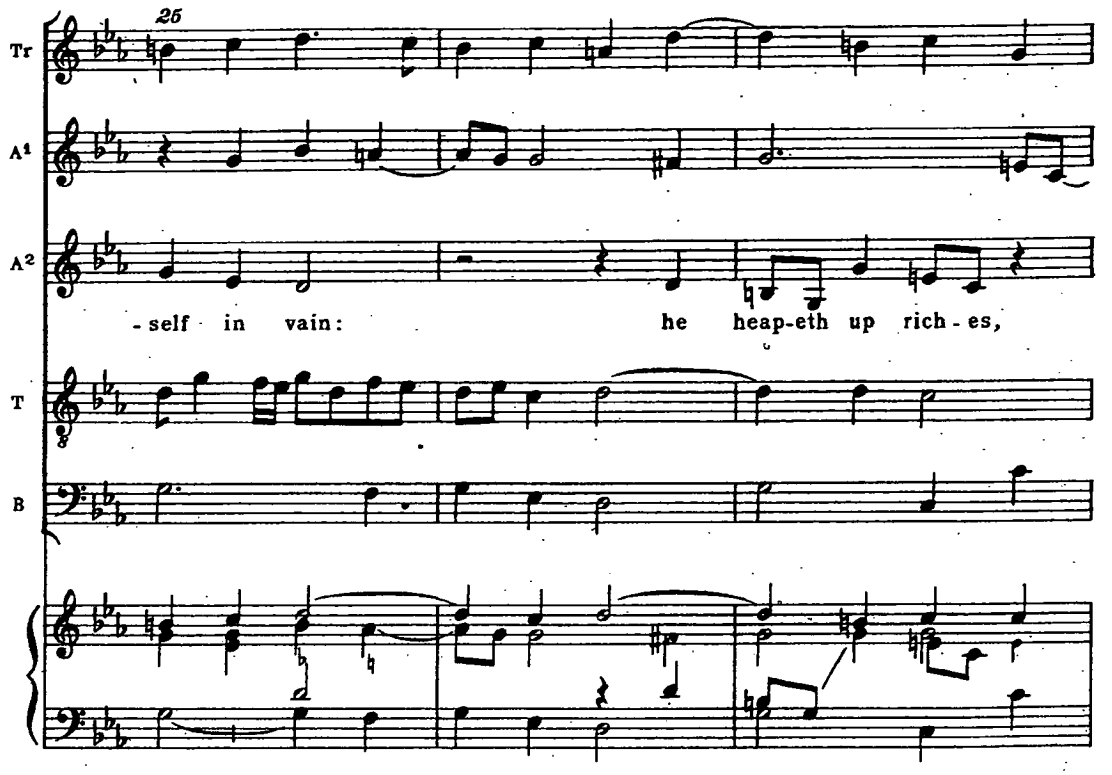
Pertaining only to the "publique worship of God" left a loophole – private worship, such as in the personal chapels of peers or wealthy merchants, was generally unaffected. This left them and their associates largely free to perform sacred music suited for domestic use, amongst them the verse anthem *Behold Thou Hast Made my Days* by Orlando Gibbons:



composers. Aldrich was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford and his collection was bequeathed to the college in 1710. See "Collections (Private)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001, 5-39.

[79] Firth and Rait 582-83.


20 VERSE
Tr
A1
A2
T
B
-ge - ther va - ni - ty.
-ge-ther va - ni - ty.
-ge - ther va - ni - ty.
-ge-ther va - ni - ty.
va - ni - ty.
For man walk-eth in a vain shadow,
and dis-qui - e-teth him - self,
and dis-qui - e-teth him -



Ex. 14. Orlando Gibbons. *Behold Thou Hast Made My Days.*[80]

Whilst subtlety and discretion would naturally have been required, some aspects of pre-Commonwealth English sacred music probably continued, albeit in a varied form, within these environments.

Just as music could be preserved with the benefits of foresight and precaution, so too could organs. Although obviously far more difficult to dismantle or disguise at short notice, some instruments did manage to spend the duration of the English Civil War and Interregnum in this decommissioned state.[81] This state of affairs was largely due to Puritan attitudes towards the organ. Whilst some ultra-extremists might have keenly rid the nation of every organ, and

[80] David Wulston, ed. *Orlando Gibbons: Verse Anthems. Early English Church Music.* Vol. 3, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1964) 26-27.

[81] This was the case at King's College, Cambridge and St. Paul's Cathedral in London. See Ian Spink, "Music and Society," *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink, Music in Britain, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 22.

possibly other instruments, they could get their hands on, the majority of Puritans seem to have had little objection to the organ in its own right. Had this been the case, the Commonwealth environment could not have supported the use of the instrument within the domestic setting.[82] The use of the organ in worship, rather than the instrument itself, was the primary cause of offence. If cathedrals, chapels and churches were prepared to close down or dismantle their organs, and so not use them in services, it was a situation that in some cases the authorities might be prepared to ignore.

In the case of Magdalen College Oxford, the authorities did more than overlook possession of an organ – Cromwell actually had the instrument dismantled and re-assembled in his residence at Hampton Court.[83] It may have been as a kind of "concession" to Magdalen that it was allowed to contribute one of the musical ironies of the Civil War and Interregnum period. As the accounts of the college clearly indicate, payments for "Choristarum" continued throughout the 1640s and 1650s and, as many names are repeated from year to year, membership appears to have been relatively consistent.[84] Whether or not the group used any accompaniment is uncertain, although given the music meetings of William Ellis, Narcissus Marsh and others during this period, the availability of viols would probably have been fairly well assured.[85] However, in another twist is the consistency of the name "Philipps" within the Magdalen accounts. Arthur Phillips (1605-95) organist of the College and Professor of Music at the

[82] See Chapter Five.
[83] Anthony Wood, *Notes on the Lives of English Musicians*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Wood D. 19(4). See Chapter Two, pp.83.
[84] Magdalen College, Oxford, Archives. *Liber Computi*, 1643-55 and 1655-66. Recurring names include Harris, Holman, Hopkins, Nicholson, Parslow, Trigg, Walker and Webb.
[85] See Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself: Collected from his Diaries and other Papers*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols, Vol. 1: 1632-63 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891) 273-75.

university, appears to have left England in 1644 as organist to Henrietta Maria, but the presence of his name in the Magdalen records raises some interesting possibilities.[86]

The slight variation of spelling can be easily explained by the flexibility of orthography during this period and, if it was the same person, Phillips may have remained in Oxford, or continued to receive payment for his position at Magdalen as well as his appointment as organist to Henrietta Maria. On the other hand, the fact that the name was included with the choristers, rather than as a separate entry, points to the likelihood of it being another individual – Phillips was after all a common enough name. That said, by including an organist as one of the choir any possible use of the instrument, which in the case of Magdalen would almost certainly have been a portative organ, could be effectively concealed. Regardless of what, if any, instrument was used or who played it, the possible existence of a choir at Magdalen throughout the Civil War and Interregnum period seriously challenges the notion of the mid seventeenth century as a universally devastating time in the history of English sacred music.

As has been seen, a large percentage of the misperception of the period stems from the belief that English sacred music prior to the Civil War was a universal genre performed under standardised conditions in all English places of worship. Yet this was simply not the case. English sacred music of the period was a diverse repertoire encompassing a wide variety of styles and performance environments, only some of which displeased Puritan authorities. Cathedrals and

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[86] J.R. Bloxam, "Chaplains, Clerks and Organists," *The Magdalen College Register*, 8 vols, vol. 2, 1857, (Oxford: OUP, 1853-85) 191-92. See also John Caldwell and Alan Brown, "Phillips, Arthur," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001.

similar institutions may have been the most visible of England's places of worship but they were certainly not the most numerous – that was an honour reserved for the parish church. The latter dominated the English religious landscape. Cathedrals:

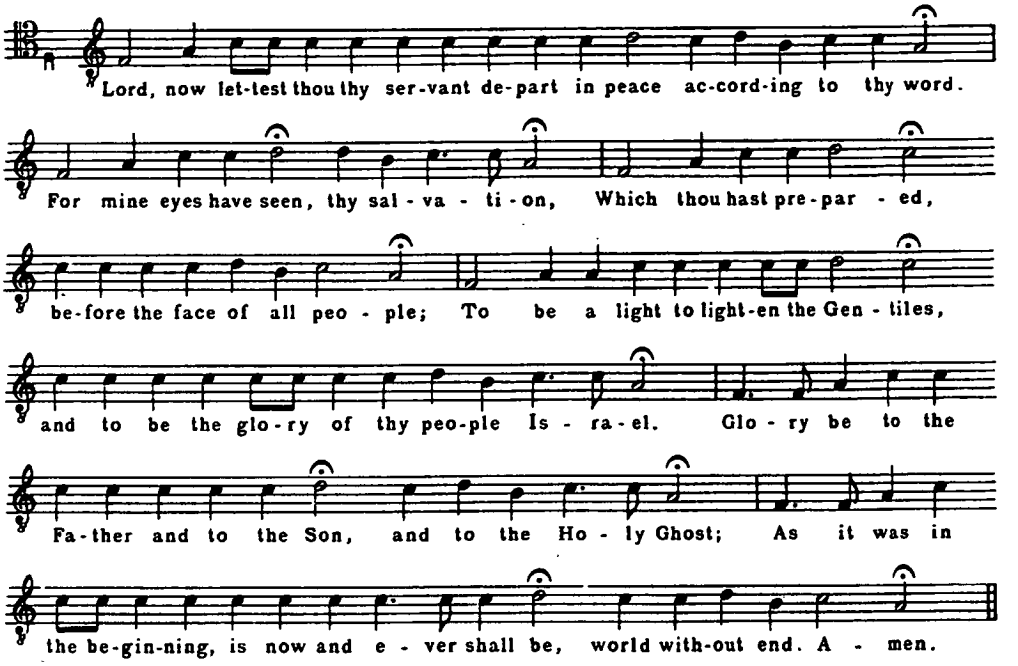
> together with the royal and collegiate foundations ... [constituted] less than one per cent of the total number of Anglican places of worship.[87]

Whilst the significance and contribution of cathedral music cannot be doubted, its exclusive examination presents only a portion of a wider picture. By including the role of the English parish church in the musical history of the Civil War and Interregnum, the laws of averages change and a potentially different history emerges from the historiographical shadows of this much-maligned period.

The point so frequently overlooked is that the music heard in these parish churches was by no means synonymous with that of cathedrals, university chapels or the Chapel Royal – "cathedral music had no relation to the parish church, nor was any such intended."[88] For the most part, the music of the parish church encompassed many of the characteristics so favoured by the sixteenth-century Reformers and seventeenth-century Commonwealth. Its syllabic and, where more than one part was involved, strictly homophonic setting ensured an unencumbered declaration of the text and overall clarity. Furthermore, the severe state of disrepair that characterised many parish church organs at the outbreak of the Civil War ensured that, even where an instrument was in existence, only rarely could it be used. With such striking differences between the music of the parish church and that of the cathedral, it was almost inevitable that the respective impacts of the English Civil War and Interregnum should have varied considerably. An

[87] Temperley 1.
[88] Shaw 696.

example of such can be seen in the *Booke of common praier noted* (1550) by John Merbecke (*c.*1510-85) a work that, although superseded by the 1552 edition of the *Booke of Common Prayer*, nevertheless provided a clear indication of the kind of music that represented the Reformation ideal:



Ex. 15. John Merbecke. "Nunc dimittis" from the *Booke of common praier noted.*[89]

That such works were primarily intended for the parish church was stated in the preface and also implied by the existence of instructions:

> [i]n this booke is conteyned so muche of the Order of Common prayer as is to be song in Churches: wherein are used only these iiii. sortes of notes. The first note is a strene note and is a breve. The second a square note, and is a semy breve. The iii. a pycke and is a mynymme. And when there is a pycke by the square note, that pycke is halfe as much as the note that goeth before it. The iiii. is a close, and is only used at y^{e} end of a verse.[90]

By the time of the Civil War the differences between cathedral and parish church music were easily identifiable and long-standing.

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[89] Also spelt "Marbeck." Despite the 1552 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Merbecke's work enjoyed something of a comeback during the nineteenth century when it was harmonised and extensively revived as part of the wider Oxford movement. Le Huray, *The Treasury of English Church Music* 7. This is a setting of the "Nunc dimittis."

[90] John Merbecke, *The Book of Common Prayer Noted (1550)*, http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/Merbecke/Merbecke.htm, 29th December 2002.

For most Puritans such distinctions were obvious. In his *Gospel Musick. Or, the singing of David's psalms, &c. in the publick congregations, or private families asserted, and vindictated* (1644), the relatively moderate Nathaniel Holmes made it quite clear that:

> David's psalms sung in our English metre differ much from cathedral singing, which is so abominable, in which is sung almost everything, unlawful litanies, and creeds, and other prose not framed in metre fit for singing. Besides they do not let all the congregation, neither sing nor understand what is sung; *battologizing* and quavering over the same words vainly. Yea nor do they all sing together, but first one sings and anthem, then half the choir, then the other, tossing the word of God like a tennis-ball. Then all yelling together with confused noise. This we utterly dislike as most unlawful.[91]

In other words, Puritan-approved church music was almost everything that cathedral music was not – clear, limited and strictly homophonic. Historiography has tended to ignore this repertoire considering it to be, like the Puritans themselves, dull, boring and of little musical value. In contrast with the masterworks of composers such as Byrd, Gibbons and Tomkins such sentiments are to some degree justified. However they fail to consider the historical context into which plain congregational psalmody must be placed. The sacred music of the Commonwealth period may "differ much from cathedral singing," and may certainly not be as musically elaborate, but it nevertheless served an important religious function.[92] "David's psalms sung in our English metre" were simply a different species of musical praise – not a lesser one.[93]

For all their differences, the music favoured by Holmes possessed one distinct advantage that cathedral music sadly lacked – it was approved by the

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[91] Nathaniel Holmes, *Gospel Musick, Or, the singing of David's psalms, &c. in the publick congregations, or private families asserted, and vindictated*, 1644, 19.
[92] Holmes 19.
[93] Holmes 19.

Commonwealth regime. Furthermore it was strongly encouraged. On 4th January 1644 Parliament issued "An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God." Within this guidebook for the new liturgy was a section entitled "Of Singing of Psalmes." The notion of the Puritans as a group staunchly against the use of music in worship falls away in light of an official government document that declared:

> [i]t is the duty of Christians to praise God publiquely by singing of Psalmes together in the Congregation, and also privately in the Family. In singing of Psalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered: But the chief care must be, to sing with understanding, and with Grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord. That the whole Congregation may joyn herein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm-Book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.[94]

The Directory of Publique Worship therefore not only sanctioned the use of select music in worship, it also provided clear recommendations as to its successful performance. This existence alone calls for a major reassessment of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music and the extent to which it was influenced by the political calamities of the time. For some aspects of English sacred music the Civil War and Interregnum were indeed devastating, but for others they were underwritten by a devout sense of authoritarian encouragement.

Across English sacred music as whole, the impact of the mid seventeenth century may not have been as harsh as traditionally believed. With the direction

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[94] "An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God," 4th January 1644. Firth and Rait 582.

of almost all attention towards the music of cathedrals and chapels, it is very easy to overlook:

> the striking dichotomy between cathedral and parochial music that has been a permanent characteristic of Anglican worship.[95]

As has been seen, there was an entire body of sacred music vastly different in character from that prevailing in cathedral and cathedral-like institutions. Furthermore, it was permitted and encouraged by the authorities. Yet the significance of this genre lay not so much in its existence but rather in its prevalence. This was the music of the parish church – the sacred repertoire heard by the vast majority of the English population. The irony is that:

> [b]y the 1570s, though controversy was never completely stilled, a fairly stable position had been reached. ... As far as music was concerned, the Anglican ideal prevailed in cathedrals, while in parish churches the Puritan pattern of congregational metrical psalm singing was allowed to establish itself.[96]

To be sure, the Cromwellian regime reacted against the liturgy of both cathedrals and parish churches, but the music was really only altered in the former. The homophonic or monophonic psalms heard in many English parish churches remained little changed from those of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Domestic devotions also continued throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. As the *Directory of Publique Worship* made clear:

> [i]t is the duty of Christians to praise God publiquely by singing of Psalmes together in the Congregation, and also privately in the Family.[97]

The Whole Booke of Psalmes (1573), or rather the recently revised versions of it that attempted to return the text to its Hebrew roots, would have supplied much of

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[95] Temperley 45.
[96] Temperley 42.
[97] Firth and Rait 582.

this domestic sacred repertoire.[98] However, judging from sixteenth and seventeenth-century publications, the domestic market seems to have been dominated by note-against-note harmonisations – works that would have been difficult to perform congregationally but that could be feasibly sung amongst musical literates in the home setting. In 1563 the publisher John Day (1522-84) released a collection entitled *The Whole Psalmes in Foure Parts, which may be song to al Musical Instrumentes, set forth for the Encrease of Vertue: and aboleshying of other Vayne and Triflying Ballades.*

Almost thirty years later *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in the Churches, composed into Foure Parts: all of which are so placed that Foure may sing ech one a Several Part* (1592), published by Thomas East (d.1609), came onto the market. Production continued into the new century with such works as *The Whole Booke of Psalmes ... Composed into 4 Parts by Sundry Authors* (1621) by Thomas Ravenscroft (*c.*1590-*c.*1633) and *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David ... Set to New Tunes for Private Devotion: and a Thorow Base, for Voice or Instrument* (1638) by Henry Lawes. Whilst these works could be adapted for church or home use, their suitability for the latter ensured a firm supply of material with which individuals could "praise God ... privately in the Family."[99]

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[98] Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1573). Although 1573 is generally given as the first complete edition, the origins of the collection date back to Sternhold's *Certaine Psalmes* of *c.*1549. William Barton was pivotal in the creation of later versions, amongst them *The Choice and Flower of the Old Psalms: Collected by Iohn Hopkins and others, now revised and amended* (1645) and *A View of Many Erors and som gross Absurdities in the old translation of the Psalms in English Metre, as also in some other translations lately published, shewing how the Psalms ought to be translated* (1655). See Nicholas Temperley, "Psalms, metrical III England," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001, 494-95.

[99] Firth and Rait 582.

Such productions continued throughout the Commonwealth and Protectorate. In 1648 Henry Lawes produced his *Choice Psalmes put into Musick For Three Voices: The Most of which may properly enough be sung by any three with a Thorough Base*, in memory of his brother William who had died at the Siege of Chester in 1645. The fact that William Lawes, a court musician, had been fighting for the Royalists seems to have been irrelevant. The authorities allowed the work to be released despite its address:

> to his Most Sacred Majestie, Charles, by the Grace of God, King of great Brittaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

and many elegies to the slain musician.[100] The address is worth quoting in its entirety as it gives a clear indication of what could be tolerated:

> I could not answer mine owne Conscience (most Gracious Soveraigne) should I dedicate these Compositions to any but Your Majestie; they were born and nourish'd in Your Majesties service, and long since design'd (such as they are) an Offering to Your Royall hand. Many of them were compos'd by my Brother (*William Lawes*,) whose life and endeavours were devoted to Your service; whereof, I (who knew his heart) am a surviving witnesse, and therein he persisted so that last minute, when he fell a willing Sacrifice for Your Majestie: I were unworthy such a Brother, would I tender ought that is his, or mine, to any but our Gracious Master (from whose Royall Bounty both of use receiv'd all we injoy'd;) and such an Inscription would not only seem a Theft and Alienation of what is Your Majesties, but (which I most abhorre) would make me taste of these ungratefull dayes. Your Majestie knowes when the Regall Prophet first penn'd these Psalmes, he gave them to the Musitians to be set to tunes; and they humbly brought them to *David* the King. Besides, M[r]. *Sandys* inscribes his Translation to Your Sacerd Majestie; so that this I offer is Your Majesties in all capacities, and doth not so properly come, as rebound back to Your Majestie. I was easily drawn to this presumption, by Your Majesties known particular affection to David's Psalmes, both because the Psalter is held by all Divines one of the most excellent parts of holy Scripture; as also in regard much of Your Majesties present condition, is lively described by King David's pen. The King of Heaven and Earth restore Your Majestie according to Your own righteous heart, which is the daily earnest prayer of Your Majesties most humble, most loyally devoted Subject and Servant, Henry Lawes.[101]

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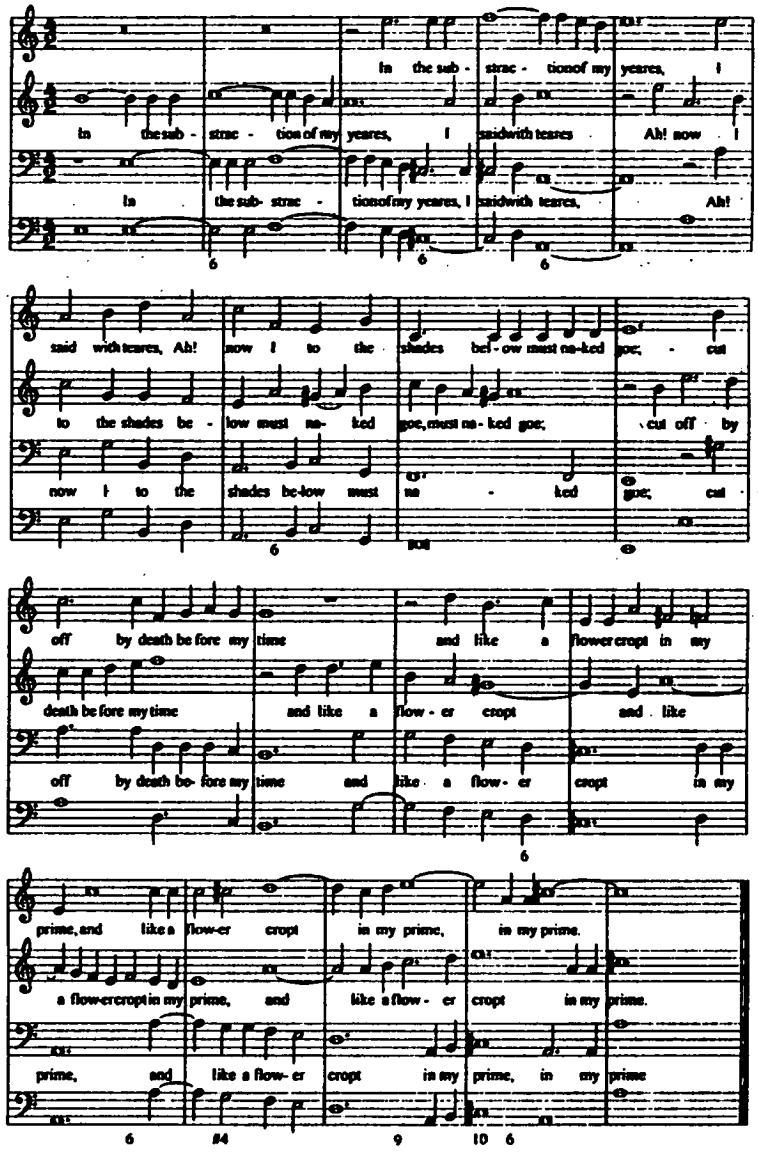
[100] Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes put into Musick For Three Voices: The Most of which may properly enough be sung by any three with a Thorough Base*, 1648, preface.
[101] Lawes, preface.

Some of the music within *Choice Psalmes* is also unexpected in style, its intention for domestic use permitting a complexity of textual setting:



Ex. 16. William Lawes. "In the subtraction of my Years" from *Choice Psalmes.*[102]

Had the Civil War and Interregnum been entirely desolate for all forms of English sacred music, it seems unlikely that such works could have been published, or that domestic psalm-singing would have been as encouraged.

[102] William Lawes, "In the subtraction of my Years." Andrew Robinson, "'Choice Psalmes:' A Brother's Memorial," *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 183.

The other main production of this period was the 1650 and 1656 reprints of William Child's *The first Set of Psalms of III Voyces Fitt for private Chappels or other private meetings with a continued Base either for the Organ or Theorbo newly composed after the Italian way* (1639). That its new title, *Choise Musick of the Psalmes of David for Three Voices with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo*, retained mention of instrumental accompaniment is interesting. That both Child and Lawes included parts for the *basso continuo* most likely indicated a desire to incorporate this modern feature into their work and an adherence to the idea that instruments could greatly assist in the learning of psalm tunes.[103] Yet what is particularly striking about the *Choise Musick of the Psalmes of David* was its explicit mention of the organ, an instrument prohibited in the church setting yet seemingly permissible at home. Whilst the number of houses possessing even a portative organ would probably have been limited, the recommendation that this instrument could be used to accompany the singing of psalms seriously challenges the perception of the Commonwealth as universally condemning of all forms of sacred music and any use of the organ. Playford also published religious music, including some psalm tunes in his 1658 edition of *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* and transcriptions for cittern in his *A Booke of New Lessons for Cithern and Gittern* (1552).[104]

In 1657 two more collections of sacred music intended for domestic use were published, *Psalterium Carolinum* by John Wilson and *Mottets of Two*

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[103] See Barton, *The Choice and Flower of the Old Psalms: Collected by Iohn Hopkins and others, now revised and amended*, 1645, preface.

[104] Most of Playford's psalm publications date from after the Restoration. They include *The Whole Book of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter* (1661), *The Tunes of Psalms to the Virginal or Organ* (*c.*1669) and *Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick on the Common Tunes* (1671). He was also the publisher of William Child's *Choise Musick of the Psalmes of David.*

Voyces by Walter Porter. Wilson's life centred strongly around Oxford where he graduated with the D.Mus in 1644. Eight years later he was made professor of music. The psalms settings that constitute his *Psalterium Carolinum* stand out from his predominately secular output and displayed, in the preface, sentiments that were resoundingly royalist. He dedicated it "[t]o the Glory of God, the Sacred Memory of His late Maiestie, and to the Right Reverend Clergy of the Church of England."[105] Like Wilson, Walter Porter was also a member of the royal musical establishment at the outbreak of civil war, although is political sentiments were far less overt. His *Mottets of Two Voyces* was published towards the end of his life. Consisting of settings for treble and bass or tenor and bass with a "continual base or score" they provided another collection of sacred music intended for domestic consumption. With the existence and ready supply of such works, combined with official encouragement for "Christians to praise God ... privately in the family," the cultivation of sacred music in the domestic setting was well assured.[106] Some of the more public aspects of musical worship may have been limited, but devotions at home continued in much the same manner as they had before the war.

The domestic setting was not the only environment in which religious devotions were hidden from public view. Of a more clandestine nature was the worship of recusant communities. On 25th March 1649 John Evelyn recorded that he:

> heard Common-prayer (a rare thing in these dayes) at St. *Peters Paules* Wharfe Lond:.[107]

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[105] John Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum*, preface.
[106] Firth and Rait 582.
[107] John Evelyn. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer, (London: OUP, 1959) 277.

The situation seems to have worsened over the years. Evelyn noted that when he went to London in 1656:

> to receive the B: *Sacrament*, ... [it] was the first time that ever the *Church* of *England* was reduced to a Chamber & Conventicle, so sharp was the Presecution; The Parish churches filld with sectaries of all sorts, Blasphemous & Ignorant *Mechanics* usurping the Pulpets every where. In a private House in *Fleetestreete* Dr. Wild preachd on 14. Luke. 23: The B: Communion succeeded & we had a greate meeting of zealous *Christians* who were generaly much more devout & religious, than in our greatest prosperity.[108]

Yet Evelyn was also careful to attend authorised services, acknowledging that:

> [n]ow indeede that I went at all to Church whilst these usurpers possess'd the *Pulpet*, was that I might not be suspected for a Papist.[109]

Given the general accuracy of his writings and his reputation, along with that of Samuel Pepys, as a skilful and engaging diarist, there seems little reason to dismiss Evelyn's reports. Yet although he speaks of submerged communities, the extent to which music was included in these devotions remains unmentioned. Whilst circumstances and a lack of resources ensured that any use of music was probably limited and most likely congregational, the possible existence of a recusant repertoire adds another dimension to the canvas of the period's sacred music.

For one religious community the emergence of the Commonwealth regime was generally positive – in 1655 Cromwell "readmitted" the Jews into Britain. Whilst his motives were probably more the product of economic opportunity than religious tolerance, they nevertheless provided freedom of worship to the Jews and an added dimension to mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music. At a

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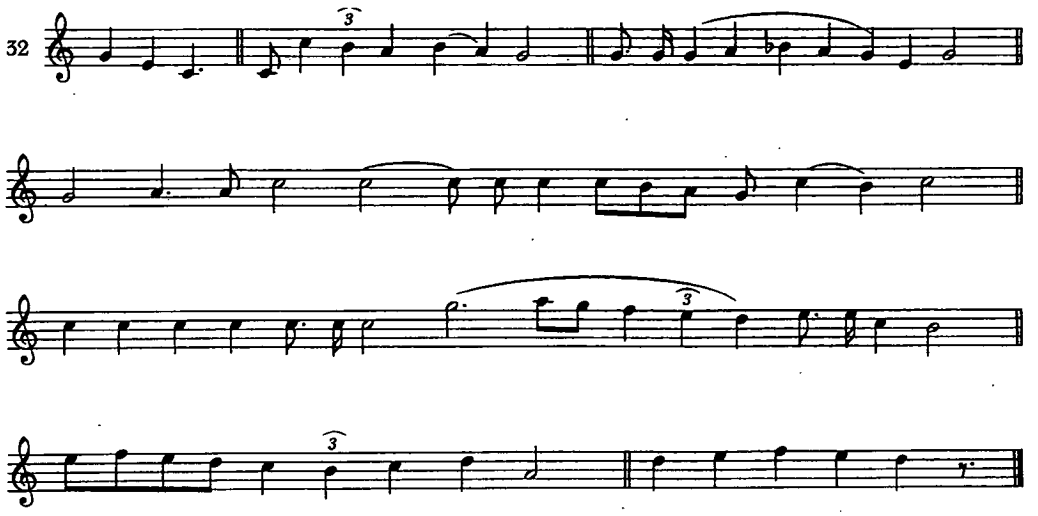
[108] Evelyn 372-73.
[109] Evelyn 374.

small synagogue in London, hitherto concealed, Jewish cantillation and psalmody added to the wider religious repertoire of the period.[110]



Ex. 17. Trad. Hebrew. Adoration.[111]

Similarly, with restrictions on worship now essentially lifted, praise within the domestic setting could also become more overt and less clandestine. A new dimension of religious diversity in Britain, or at least an official tolerance of it, was beginning to emerge.[112] For Jews and Christian minority groups, discretion was both a virtue and the better part of valour, but as far as official Commonwealth policy was concerned, it was really only the Anglican liturgy that was abolished.

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[110] The synagogue was situated in Creechurch Lane, London. See Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776*, (London: BBC, 2001) 233-35.

[111] Eric Werner, ed. *Hebrew Music. Anthology of Music: A Collection of Complete Musical Examples Illustrating the History of Music*, ed. K.G. Fellerer, (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1961) 48.

[112] For information on the Jews in Britain see Edwin Leronssi, *et al.*, "Jewish Music," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 3rd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964); and Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776*, (London: BBC, 2001) 233-35.

Across the spectre of English sacred music the Civil War and Interregnum produced a variety of results. For cathedrals and similar institutions the outcomes were particular devastating – the destruction of organs, disbandment of choirs and disappearance of music manuscripts. Yet this experience was counterbalanced by that of other places of worship, primarily the parish church, where the musical diet of congregational psalmody continued in much the same manner as it had before the war. To this was added the private devotions of families within the home setting, again largely unaffected, and the music of recusant Christians and readmitted Jews. Not surprisingly, it was cathedral music that proved the most difficult to reinstate at the Restoration. For the repertoire of other religious environments there was limited change – the liturgy may have been altered but the music remained relatively consistent.

Yet in spite of this dichotomy, it has been the experiences of cathedrals and similar institutions that have tended to dominate the historiographical reception of the 1640s and 1650s. The result has been the widespread portrayal of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music from the cathedral perspective and the idea that these outcomes were indicative of the period as a whole. This has been most apparent in regard to the destruction of organs, an aspect of the period most commonly seen as encapsulating Commonwealth attitudes towards sacred music. Whilst it cannot be denied that organs were senselessly destroyed during this period, it is equally erroneous to divorce these incidents from their wider historical contexts – from the traumas of military combat, the effects of the Reformation and the objection to the use of the organ in public worship rather

than as an instrument in its own right. When the connections are made the image alters substantially.

In correctly ascertaining the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English sacred music, numerical awareness is vital. In regard to the destruction of organs, the standard indicator of anti-music sentiment, its extent and the effect on English sacred music as a whole was relatively limited. Parish churches constituted over ninety-nine percent of sacred venues and the vast majority simply did not possess an organ on which to launch an offensive.[113] For those that did the economic situation of the sixteenth century, characterised by high inflation and static incomes, ensured that most instruments were well beyond repair by the 1640s. The congregational psalms of the parish church that continued largely unaltered throughout the Civil War and Interregnum was by far the most common form of musical worship. The continuation of sacred music in the domestic setting, combined with the devotions of the Anglican, Catholic and Jewish communities further contributed to the diversity of the period.

The impact of the Civil War and Interregnum reflected this multiplicity of genres and performance environments. Although for cathedral music the results of the conflict and ensuing regime were far from positive, for other areas the outcomes were generally neutral. Whilst the former has dominated research into English sacred music, it was the parish church that more clearly indicated the experience of the masses. For around two decades in the seventeenth century congregational singing dominated, not only in terms of numbers but also in the

[113] Temperley 1.

wake of a changed liturgy and uncertain times. As with any point in history, these years witnessed the demise of some facets and the continuation and birth of others. Yet throughout these "sad, distracted tymes" the human need to worship a god and to include music in this process remained unaltered – a stable fixture in an unstable age.

Chapter Four
"Repugnant to the Will of Almightie God:" Music for the Theatre, *c.*1640 to *c.*1660

The emphasis on opera within the evolutionary construct, and the pervading image of the Puritans as kill-joys and pleasure-haters, has exerted some of its most powerful influences in the perception of mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music. As was seen in the preceding chapter, the period of the Civil War and Interregnum has traditionally been considered to have dealt an Armageddon-like blow to English church music. In a similar fashion, Commonwealth restrictions on the theatre have served, time and again, as justification for the image of severe anti-musical aggression considered so characteristic of the Puritan regime. Yet what has so frequently been overlooked is the legislation, and the motives behind it, that brought about such restrictions. It has merely been accepted as a given – the harsh suppression of enjoyment by puritanical Puritans and a characteristic feature of this oppressive regime.

In addition, the 1642 prohibition of stage-plays has commonly been seen as a blanket ban on all forms of theatre and a means through which:

> the establishment of the Protectorate, with its Puritanical influence, put a stop for eleven years to all kinds of festive entertainments.[1]

Other facets of the English stage, amongst them masques and operatic-like works, have usually been ignored or given only brief mention. However, if an accurate assessment of the impact of the English Civil War and Interregnum is to occur, all genres of the stage must be considered and the government ordinance that instigated the ban closely examined. Failure to do so risks misunderstanding an important aspect of a largely hidden period and does little to challenge the almost

[1] Arthur H.D. Prendergast, "The Masque of the Seventeenth Century: Its Origin and Development," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 23 (1897) 129.

engrained historiographical interpretation of mid-seventeenth-century English music.

There can be no doubt that the objective study of Commonwealth theatre music has been approached upon from many angles. Bordered on one side by the achievements of the Jacobean and Caroline court masque and on the other by the operas and semi-operas of Purcell and his contemporaries, the traditional portrayal of the period as an age of decline seems almost inevitable. If this were not enough, the early and mid seventeenth century has also been overshadowed by the immense presence of William Shakespeare.[2] England may have been "*das Land ohne Musik*" but no-one, not even Schmitz, could dismiss the importance of the Bard. Such focus on Shakespeare presents a double-edged sword to English music history, and particularly to English theatre music history. To begin with, it brings about the increased emphasis and added value of Shakespeare in response to both domestic and foreign interest – it does after all make sense to associate with one so esteemed. Yet this also fuels the recurring mindset and long-standing perception of the mid-seventeenth-century as the destroyer of the English golden age. This means that the elevation of Shakespeare will almost invariably be accompanied by the minimisation, or even complete omission, of the Commonwealth period. When seen through this dichotomy, the result is the inevitable containment of Shakespearean interest within dominant historiographical boundaries, and a conflict between the lure of a major figure and the unbiased consideration of a later period.

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[2] See Chapter Two, pp.62-63.

The situation has been additionally hindered by accusations that England has shown inappropriate degrees of deference to the life and work of the Bard. Schmitz noted a notorious lack of connection between the nation and its première playwright. Here again, it seemed Puritanism was to blame:

> [w]hat has estranged the English from Shakespeare, is the puritanical form of Protestantism which has pervaded their life to the present day, and the mercantile spirit resulting from it.[3]

In the wake of such allegations, and amongst the tides of nationalism that characterised the English Musical Renaissance, it was little wonder that interest in both Shakespeare and the sixteenth century increased markedly. This was further exacerbated by claims that Shakespeare had "become a German national poet," implying that England had somehow managed to "lose" their literary giant or that, presumably due to this lack of appreciation, he had simply "defected" to the Germans.[4] During the later nineteenth and earlier portion of the twentieth centuries both Bach and the Bard were jointly claimed and to varying degrees accorded a kind of dual Anglo-German nationality. In the case of the latter this meant that:

> [w]hen it came to war, like God and Holy Writ, the sanction of Shakespeare was invoked by both sides.[5]

Such foreign claims, and in particular the British response, has directed even more attention towards the contributions of Shakespeare and the sixteenth century. Whilst not to be discredited in themselves, such spotlights have done little to promote surrounding periods, especially those perceived as so callously destroying these Elizabethan and Shakespearean achievements.

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[3] Oscar A.H. Schmitz, *The Land without Music*, trans. Hans Herzl, 1904, (London: Jarrolds, 1925) 84.
[4] Schmitz 84.
[5] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd ed., (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001) 148.

The aura of the Bard has extended an irresistible invitation for English theatre music history to jump on the Shakespearean bandwagon. Not surprisingly, extensive research has been undertaken into the musical elements of Shakespeare's work. Although certainly worthwhile, such work has meant that the investigation of stage-plays has constituted a sizeable percentage of research into early and mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music. With the ordinance of 1642 prohibiting these productions, and the pervading image of the Commonwealth as a period of general demise and destruction, English theatre music during the 1640s and 1650s becomes even more peripheral. Yet this was not a simple case of one musical period dominating another. Unfortunately Shakespeare was not as musically significant as many would no doubt wish him to be. Whilst music was a feature of his theatrical works, the fact remains that:

> most of Shakespeare's plays require little music, and ... little is known about what is required. Whether we like it or not, he worked in the least musical of the various dramatic traditions of his day.[6]

Although the actual connection between Shakespeare and theatrical music may not have been particularly strong, the historiographical value of such a major figure and the desperate musicological and nationalist need to forge a close association has tended to override historical awareness. For the most part, the power of the Shakespearean legacy has hindered rather than helped the cause of theatre music in the decades after his death, and provided a potent rallying point in the glorification of the great Elizabethan age.

Shakespeare did of course live well into the seventeenth century, and many of his works continued to be published and performed posthumously. Nor

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[6] Peter Holman, "Music for the Stage I: Before the Civil War." *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink, Music in Britain, (Oxford: Balckwell, 1992) 282.

was the latter portion of his life devoid of artistic productivity – the famous plays *The Winter's Tale* (1610), *The Tempest* (1611) and *Henry VIII* (1613) were all written after the accession of James I.[7] Furthermore, the early seventeenth century witnessed the establishment of a number of theatres in and around London, among them Whitefriars (1608), the Cockpit (1609) and Salisbury Court (1629). Yet the venues most closely associated with Shakespeare, or rather their sufferings at the time of the Civil War, have had a strong bearing on the historiographical reception of mid-seventeenth-century English theatre. The King's Men, the company housed at Blackfriars Theatre of which Shakespeare had been a member, were disbanded in 1642. Even worse however was the fate of the Globe. Built in 1599, the theatre hosted performances of Shakespeare's output, before being destroyed by fire in 1613, rebuilt shortly afterwards, and then demolished by the Commonwealth authorities in 1644. Such desecration of Britannia's Shakespearean heritage has played a major role in establishing and maintaining the perception of the mid seventeenth century as a merciless destroyer of Elizabethan and, to a lesser extent, Jacobean achievements. If the work of Shakespeare was no match against the evil forces of Puritanism, what hope was there for lesser individuals? That the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum should have been so negative on the literary giant, has served as a kind of pre-determined benchmark against which all other theatrical activities were doomed to failure.

As if the Shakespearean factor were not enough, even closer chronological forces have encroached upon the reception of mid-seventeenth-century English

[7] These dates refer to the year of composition that is frequently difficult to accurately determine and understandably open to debate.

theatre music. The productions of the 1640s and 1650s have been overshadowed by the Jacobean and Caroline court masque and, at the other end of the period, obliged to compete against an even greater musicological force – opera. The historiographical situation of Commonwealth theatre music becomes even more hopeless in light of the close association of the masque with Charles I and the general nineteenth-century preferment for Cavalier, or perceived Cavalier, society over its Puritan counterpart.[8] During the earlier half of the seventeenth century, the closest English equivalent to the powerful phenomenon of opera was the masque. Featuring both drama and music, in addition to the element of dance, the masque provided England with a response to opera and a significant theatrical contribution in a period dominated by *stilo recitativo*. Although the seeds of the English masque, along with its continental counterparts such as Italian *masquerie* and the French *masquerade*, sprouted during the Renaissance and even earlier, the sixteenth and particularly seventeenth centuries represented the height of the genre.

The high status of England's operatic substitute, combined with the historiographical popularity of the Cavaliers, has meant that where mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music has been examined, it has tended to focus on Caroline court masques rather than works from the following decades. The almost perpetual image of the 1642 Commonwealth ordinance as the ruthless destroyer of all facets of English theatre has further influenced such trends. If these harsh perceptions of Interregnum theatre music are to be either justified or overcome, a different approach is required. The impact of the English Civil War

[8] See Chapter Two, pp.76-79.

and ensuing regime on this repertoire must be considered for what it was – a combination of mixed, and not always negative, results. The effect of mid-seventeenth-century political turmoils cannot be determined on the basis of limited assessment and unfounded conformation to standardised or pre-established interpretative norms.

By delving beneath the historiography a potentially new picture emerges. The issues surrounding Commonwealth theatre music become much clearer upon closer examination of documents at their very core – government ordinances, the responses to these declarations, pamphlets, the prefaces and texts of specific works and eyewitness accounts. In undertaking a more detailed and diverse study the goals of accurate determination and far-reaching historicity become much more attainable. Furthermore, greater consideration must be given to the documents themselves. For instance, the ordinance of September 1642, in which government policy concerning the stage was clearly stated, has been a piece of legislation often mentioned but seldom examined. Even so, it has proved to be a strong foundation of both the harsh historiographical treatment of mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music and of the Civil War and Interregnum period as a whole.

That some theatrical productions *were* suppressed during this period is not disputed. However it does not necessarily follow that the result was universal, that music was completely banished, or that the industry was utterly incapable of adaptation. As with sacred music the effects were closely intertwined with many and varied factors, amongst them genre, location, time and individuals. Questions

of definition and labelling were paramount – a play was neither an opera nor a masque, although names were interchangeable and lines of distinction could be easily blurred. For the most part, considerations of mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music, where they have indeed existed, have tended to overlook these subtleties. Yet they are vital to achieving the task at hand. There can be no doubt that by placing this music, as with other aspects of the period, into its historical context the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum becomes far easier to ascertain.

Whilst it has been repeatedly acknowledged and accepted that there was a ban on the theatre during this period, the precise nature and specific consequences of this prohibition have been largely neglected. This has been most apparent in the consideration, or lack thereof, of the 1642 ordinance. It has rarely been examined, despite being one of the most informative sources for Commonwealth theatre and a logical starting point in any historical consideration of this music. On 2nd September 1642 Parliament declared that:

> Whereas the distressed Estate of Ireland, steeped in her own Blood, and the distracted Estate of England, threatened with a Cloud of Blood, by a Civil War, call for all possible means to appease and avert the Wrath of God appearing in these Judgements; among which, Fasting and Prayer having been often tried to be very effectual, have been lately, and are still enjoined; and whereas Public Sports doe not well agree with Public Calamities, nor Public Stage-plays with the Seasons of Humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being Spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious Mirth and Levity: It is therefore thought fit, and Ordained by the Lords and Commons in this Parliament Assembled, That, while these sad Causes and set Times of Humiliation doe continue, Public Stage Plays shall cease, and be forborn. Instead of which, are recommended to the People of this Land, the profitable and seasonable considerations of Repentance, Reconciliation, and Peace with God, which probably may produce

> outward Peace and Prosperity, and being again Times of Joy and Gladness to these Nations.[9]

As can be seen, it was a ruling entrenched with relatively specific details and forthcoming in its motives and justifications. Yet behind this initial perception of openness lay even deeper concerns. For its true nature, impact and outcomes to be accurately determined, any consideration of the 1642 ordinance must be necessarily thorough and comprehensive.

The motives and meanings behind the 1642 ordinance are both revealing and multi-dimensional. On initial appearances the primary justification was the inappropriateness of stage-plays in times of actual or potential civil war. As was so clearly stated:

> Public Sports doe not well agree with Public Calamities, nor Public Stage-plays with the Seasons of Humiliation.[10]

September 1642 was certainly a time of "Public Calamities." With Charles I having raised his standard at Nottingham only two weeks earlier, and both sides entering into a state of military deadlock, official attitudes towards stage-plays become even more understandable. Six weeks before the Battle of Edgehill and in a country divided in loyalty and increasingly restless, stage-plays were certainly "disagreeable." Excluding more intricate concerns for the time being, the basic practical considerations brought on by the theatre were alone enough to jeopardise its existence.

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[9] "Order for Stage-plays to cease," 2nd September 1642, C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Abingdon: Professional Books, 1982) 26-27.

[10] Firth and Rait 26.

If a government was to be informed and maintain order, stage productions required monitoring, an activity that in turn necessitated awareness and required human resources. Furthermore, the very institution of the theatre encouraged the formation of crowds and therefore increased the risk of riots and civil unrest. In mobilising forces and making preparations for what now looked like an almost inevitable war, Parliament had little interest in keeping theatres open. An examination of other ordinances from the same period clearly indicates that more pressing issues were at hand. On 26th August an ordinance for raising money in London was passed, the funds:

> to be employed in quenching this unnatural war now Kindled in the Heart of This Kingdom, by Papists, Persons popishly affected, Traitors and Delinquents, about his Majesty.[11]

On 15th September Commissioners of the Navy were appointed and two days later an order was passed "for putting the City of Worcester in a Posture of Defence."[12] In such a turbulent climate stage-plays were simply a disagreeable encumbrance that was best abolished.

Although stage-plays were inappropriate, activities such as fasting and prayer were considered eminently suitable. The idea that the English populace would be better served in the appeasement of God, rather than in the frivolous pursuit of dramatic entertainment, was a strong one. Nor was this a one-sided contest. In 1577 *A Treatisie wherein Dicing, Dauning, Vaine playes, or Enterluds, with other idle pastimes, &c., commonly used on the Sabbath day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers* complained that:

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[11] Firth and Rait 24.
[12] Firth and Rait 27, 30.

> [m]any can tarie at a vayne playe two or three houres, when as they will not abide scarce one houre at a sermon. They will runne to euerye playe, but scarce will come to a preached sermon.[13]

Such preferment was unlikely to impress. In times of peace and stable government, when God must have been pleased and relatively contented, theatrical productions might be considered remotely acceptable. However, as the 1642 ordinance so clearly spelt out, "while these sad causes and set Times of Humiliation doe continue, Public Stage Plays shall cease, and be forborn."[14]

Within this the religious issues enjoined with the existence, or absence, of stage-plays were a fundamental element. The long-standing notion of the Almighty's displeasure with the stage and resultant need to "avert the Wrath of God appearing in these Judgements" was undoubtedly a cornerstone of Puritan argument for the suppression of the theatre.[15] This idea of drama being a theologically and doctrinally dangerous activity was not new. In May 1625 an unrecorded speaker, probably Alexander Leighton, declared to the House of Lords that:

> [s]tage-playes are repugnant to the written Word and Will of Almightie God ... dangerous to the eternall salvation both of the actours and spectatours ... procure the judgments of the God to the whole kingdome, for sinne tolerated pourchaseth Gods wrath to the whole nation.[16]

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[13] John Northbrooke, *Dicing, Dauning, Vaine playes, or Enterluds, with other idle pastimes, &c., commonly used on the Sabbath day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers*, ed. J.P. Collier, (London: Shakespeare Society, 1843) 94.

[14] Firth and Rait 26.

[15] Firth and Rait 26.

[16] Arthur Freeman, "Preface," *Commonwealth Tracts 1625-1650, The English Stage Attack and Defense 1577-1730: A Collection of 90 important works reprinted in photo-facsimile in 50 volumes*, ed. Arthur Freeman (New York: Garland, 1974) 10. "A Short Treatise against Stage-Playes: An Humble Supplication tendered to the High and Honourable House of Parliament Assembled May xviij", 1625, *Commonwealth Tracts 1625-1650.*

Regardless of the identity of the author, the sentiments he espoused were a recurring theme in the long-standing concern, both amongst Puritans and other religious groups, of the lax morality and inappropriateness of the theatre.

Such concerns for the public good stretched well beyond the boundaries of the seventeenth century. In 1574 the city magistrates of Leicester pointed out that the allowance of stage-plays would almost invariably be accompanied by:

> frayes and quarrelles, eavell practises of incontinencye in grate Innes, havinge chambers and secrete places adjoyninge to their open stagies and gallyries, inveyglynge [unveiling] and alleurynge of maides, speciallye orphanes, ... the publishinge of unchaste, uncomelye and unshamefaste speeches and doynges [songs], withdrawinge of Quenes Majesties subjectes from dyvyne service on Soundaies & hollydayes, at which tymes such playes weare chefelye used, unthriftye waste of the moneye of the poore & fond [foundling] persons, sondrye robberies by pyckinge and cuttinge of purses, utteringe of popular, busye and sedycious matters, and manie other corruptions of youthe.[17]

Yet such concerns and restrictions had a much longer history. For example:

> [i]n 305 one of the earliest [Church] councils forbade women to give actors their garments for stage use. It prohibited also the marriage of Christian women with players, and made it necessary for men of that profession to renounce the calling before admittance to the church. In 314 the Council of Arles passed excommunication on all players within the church; and in 397 from the Council of Carthage came one of the earliest decrees forbidding churchmen to have any connection with the stage.[18]

By the time of the English Civil War the mould was well prepared. The 1642 ordinance of the Commonwealth government was therefore, much in the same fashion as their position on church music, the reaffirmation of previous attitudes rather than a wholly isolated and unprecedented mindset.

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[17] Quoted in Elbert N.S. Thompson, *The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage*, Yale Studies in English, ed. Albert S. Cook, (New York: Henry Holt, 1903) 40-41.
[18] Thompson 20.

In line with this, it is interesting to note that William Prynne, one of the principal spokesmen against the use of certain music in worship, was even more vitriolic in his criticisms of the theatre. Indeed his earlier-mentioned large monograph, *Histriomastix, The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragœdie*, was primarily penned as an attack on the moral decrepitude so frequently seen as accompanying the theatre.[19] For Prynne, "prophane, and poisonous Stage-Plays" were:

> the common Idole, and prevailing evill of our dissolute, and degenerous Age: which though they had their rise from Hell; yea, their birth, and pedegree from the very Devill himselfe; to whose honour, and service they were at first devoted: though they have beene oft condemned, and quite exploded by the whole Primitive Church, both under the Law, and Gospel: by the unanimous vote of all the Fathers, and sundrey Councells from age to age: By Moderne Divines, and Christian Authours of all sorts: by divers Heathen States, and emperours; and by whole *Grand-iuies* of prophane writers, as well Historians, and Poets, as Philosophers: ... Yet wee, we miserable, and gracelesse wretches, after so many sentences of condemnation passed upon them: after so many Iudgements already inflicted on, and yet threatned to us, ... as if wee were quite degenerated, not onely from the grace, and holinesse of Christians; but even from the naturall goodnesse, and moralitie of Pagans in former Ages; doe now, even now, in the middest of all our feares at home, and the miserable desolations of Gods Church abroade; ... As if wee had made a covenant with Hell, and sworne alleageance to the Devill himselfe; ... notwithstanding, all that God, or man have laid against them: and would rather part with Christ, Religion, God, or Heaven, than with them.[20]

However vibrant the language of William Prynne, the sentiments he and his generally more moderate contemporaries espoused were to varying degrees shared by many in the Puritan establishment. Although it is important not to over-emphasise religious influences at the expense of more political concerns, it was an aspect of mid-seventeenth-century English thought that undoubtedly shaped and coloured the 1642 ordinance.

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[19] See Chapter Three, pp.105.

[20] William Prynne, *Histriomastix, The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragœdie*, 1633, facs. ed., (New York: Garland, 1974) 2-3.

Within the wording of the ordinance itself, the complex entanglement of seventeenth-century religion and politics was clearly evident. From a modern Western viewpoint in which secularism tends to prevail, it is at times difficult to appreciate the immense power of the Church within mid-seventeenth-century English politics. This was after all an age in which Church attendance was close to universal and where the instigation of an alternative form of worship could prompt uprisings – issues of doctrine and theology were pivotal factors in the outbreak of Civil War. The interconnectedness of Church and State was clearly evident in the ordinance of 1642. Not only were stage-plays generally considered inappropriate in times of public calamity, but they also possessed the added inconvenience of severely displeasing God. With the path towards war becoming increasingly inevitable, as it was by September 1642, and the enhanced need to have the Almighty on side, incurring His displeasure was simply not a risk worth taking. By banning stage-plays the authorities could cover both bases. The concerns of Prynne and other moral crusaders may have been unfounded, but at a time of great political uncertainty who could be sure? At any rate, adherence to such religious recommendations was a powerful means of softening what was essentially a strong political action. The populace may disagree with the government, but there were few who dared to question God. Politics and religion ran extremely close. Whilst they formed separate motives for the 1642 ordinance, their intimate connection cannot be denied.

Although the religious aspects are not to be underestimated, there can be no doubt that beneath the surface of the 1642 ordinance was an acute awareness. The official version may have been the general unsuitability of stage productions

in times of political unrest and the religious issues such entertainment raised, but this co-existed with a deeper, more grievous concern. On reading into the ordinance further, it quickly becomes apparent that the Commonwealth regime was extremely conscious of the potential force of the theatre in a land "threatened with a Cloud of Blood, by a Civill Warre."[21] Many of those in Parliament undoubtedly saw the potentially explosive possibilities of a major form of media that, to a far greater extent than the printed word, encouraged the formation of crowds, did not require literacy, and could easily disguise political statements underneath layers of plots, costumes and scenery. Given this, and considering the specific referrals to the unsuitability of stage-plays in times of "Public Calamities," it becomes increasingly clear that:

> the closure was more probably the precautionary move of a still-moderate parliament concerned to secure the support of the respectable bourgeoise, and worried by the new role of the public theatres as a mouthpiece for the people.[22]

It cannot be denied that underlying the publicly declared notions of civil and religious inappropriateness was a strong foundation of censorship and the recurring theme of media control so common throughout history.

Evidence of this continuity is clearly illustrated in the attitudes, or rather in the strong political undercurrents frequently accompanying such attitudes, towards the theatre in other times and places. Amongst the most famous examples were the concerns of the Austrian emperor Joseph II (1741-90, r.1765-90) over the play, *La folle journée, ou Le marriage de Figaro* (1784) by Pierre Augustin Beaumarchais (1732-99). With the play, and especially its encouraging

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[21] Firth and Rait 26.
[22] Firth and Rait 26; Simon Trussler, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of British Theatre*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 115.

portrayal of the working class and mockery of the aristocracy, having already stirred emotions in near-revolutionary France, Joseph II was understandably reluctant to risk similar events in Vienna.[23] In a similar fashion, the desire to maintain the established social order ensured that the controversial play by George Bernhard Shaw (1856-1950), *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1893), underwent decades of prohibition and restrictions before finally receiving its British première in 1925.[24]

Closer to the English Civil War and Interregnum, Charles I personally censored a passage from the now-lost play *The King and the Subject* by Philip Massinger (1583-1640). The 1638 records of the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert (1594-1673) revealed that:

> The name of The King and the Subject is altered, and I allowed the play to bee acted, the reformations most strictly observed, and not otherwise, the 5th of June, 1638.
>
> At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that hee would warrant it.

> Wee'le rayse supplies what ways we please,
> And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which
> We'le mullet you as wee shall thinke fitt. The Caesars
> In Rome were wise, acknowledginge no lawes
> But what their swords did ratifye, the wives
> And daughters of the senators bowinge to
> Their wills, as deities, &c.

[23] Although performances of the play were banned in Vienna, the work was available in print and was eventually staged in the form of Mozart's opera *Le nozzi de Figaro* with the libretto adapted by Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838).

[24] Shaw dealt with the issues of prostitution and hypocrisy and challenged the conventional view of marriage. Although the work did receive some private performances in the early twentieth century, any larger scale productions were severely halted by the authorities.

> This is a peece taken out of Phillip Messingers play, called The King and the Subject, and entered here for ever to bee remembered by my son and those that cast their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my master, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, set his marke upon the place with his owne hande, and in thes [*sic.*] words:
>
> This is too insolent, and to bee changed. [25]

Censorship was by no means limited to mid-seventeenth-century England, nor was it the sole preserve of the Commonwealth authorities.

Beyond basic censorship was a more specific concern. The connection between the theatres of London and the Crown meant that the performance of political satire and other material was just as likely to favour Charles I as it was the Parliamentarians. In many instances royal patronage had protected theatres when closure, such as through fire or plague, would have otherwise been inevitable.[26] In addition, professional actors had frequently been allocated dramatic parts within the Jacobean and Caroline court masque, and the services of court musicians and sometimes found their way into the public theatre – for both parties it was a viable means of networking and supplementing income. To be sure, a healthy quantity of anti-Royalist stage-plays had existed before the war, but nuances were often subtle and classification frequently difficult.[27] At any rate, the desired impression was one of a blanket condemnation for the sake of righteousness, rather than a ruling brought about by astute political judgement.

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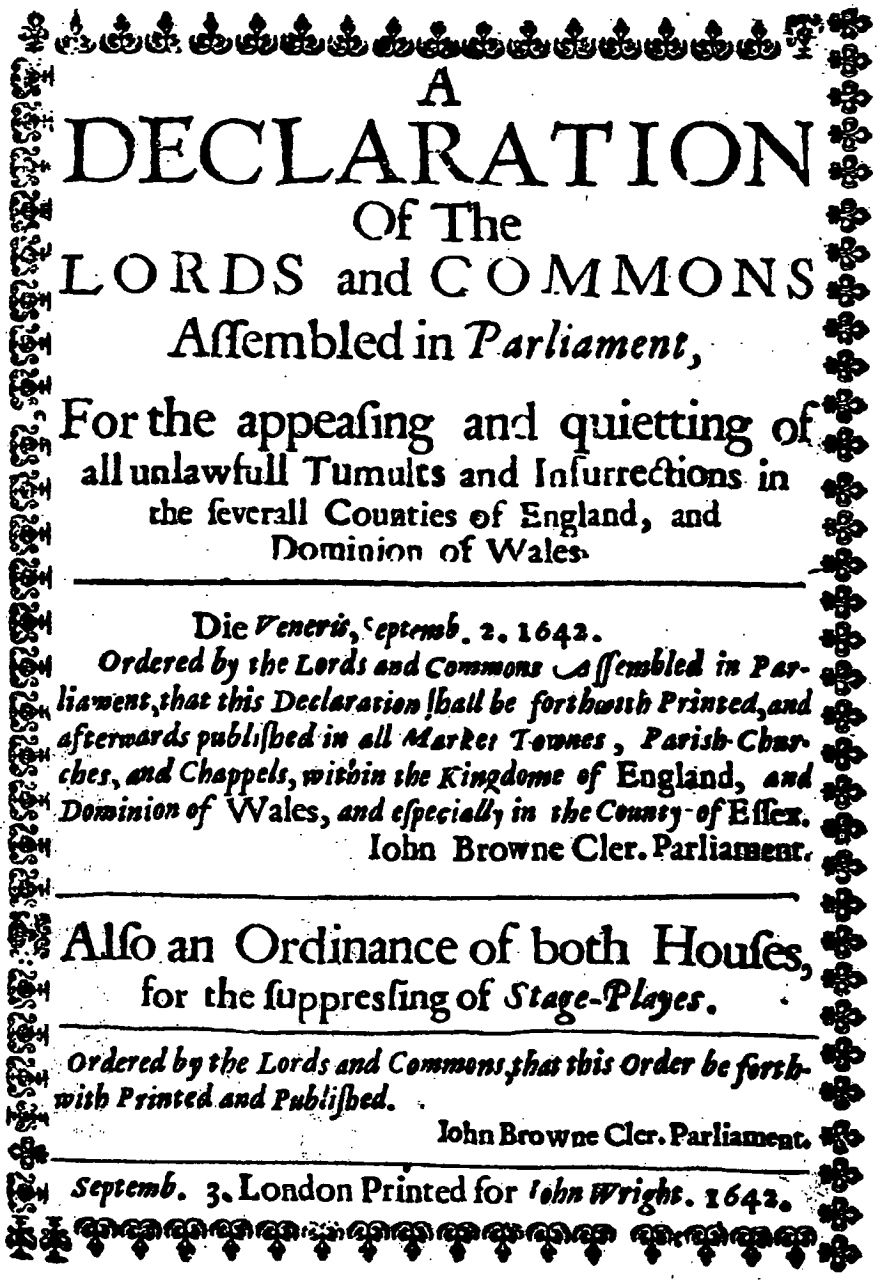
[25] The Master of the Revels was a member of the English court whose primary role was to supervise the production of court entertainments. From the early seventeenth century authority was also extended to the licensing and censorship of public theatre performances. The position first appeared around 1595 and ended with the Licensing Act of 1737; Henry Herbert, *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73*, ed. N.W. Bawcutt, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 203-204.

[26] Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1600*, 3 vols, 1963-81, Vol. 2: *1576 to 1660, Part I*, (London: Routledge, 1963) 135. The most well-known example was the Globe Theatre whose managers were able to rebuild after the venue was burned to the ground in 1613.

[27] See Albert H. Triconi, *Anticourt Drama in England 1603-1642*, (Charlottesville: Virginia UP, 1989).

Just as it was not worth aggravating the wrath of God, lest He should support the enemy, so too was it hazardous to condone a media that carried high levels of risk to your political cause. As with any conflict, the restriction or promotion of selected information, the need to monitor the situation, and the underlying desire for widespread public support was paramount. Put into its historical context, the motives behind the Commonwealth position on stage-plays become much clearer and the implementation of this legislation far more justified.

Further evidence of a strong political undercurrent can be seen in the Parliamentary circumstances of the ordinance itself. The day after it was decreed, the prohibition of stage-plays was grouped with another ordinance:



A
DECLARATION
Of The
LORDS and COMMONS
Aſſembled in *Parliament*,
For the appeaſing and quietting of all unlawfull Tumults and Inſurrections in the ſeverall Counties of England, and Dominion of Wales.

Die *Veneris*, *Septemb.* 2. 1642.
Ordered by the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, that this Declaration ſhall be forthwith Printed, and afterwards publiſhed in all Market Townes, Parish-Churches, and Chappels, within the Kingdome of England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *and eſpecially in the County of* Eſſex.
Iohn Browne Cler. Parliament.

Alſo an Ordinance of both Houſes, for the ſuppreſſing of *Stage-Playes*.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons, that this Order be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed.
Iohn Browne Cler. Parliament.

Septemb. 3. London Printed for *Iohn Wright*. 1642.

Fig. 4. "A Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, For the appeasing and quieting of all unlawful Tumults and Insurrections in the severall Counties of England, and Dominion of Wales ... Also an Ordinance of both Houses, for the Suppressing of Stage-Playes."[28]

Although the declaration was primarily concerned with unauthorised looting, the desire to prevent gatherings and maintain political calm was paramount. Parliament stated that:

[28] "A Declaration...," 3rd September 1642, *Commonwealth Tracts 1625-1650, The English Stage Attack and Defense 1577-1730: A Collection of 90 important works reprinted in photo-facsimile in 50 volumes*, ed. Arthur Freeman, (New York: Garland, 1974).

> [t]he Lords and Commons having lately sent Sir *Thomas Barrington*, and M. *Grymstone*, into the County of *Essez*, for the appeasing and quieting of divers Assemblies of people gathered together in great bodies, who had much damnified the houses, and taken the goods of divers persons without Law or other authority, ... should forbearthe searching any houses for Armes and Ammunition, or the taking goods out of any House otherwise then is or shall be directed by the Parliament, ... The Lords and Commons doe declare, that they rescent the aforesaid expressions of the people, and their ready obedience, as a testimony of that dutifull affection which they beare to the Parliament, and to the present service of the Kingdome ... And as both Houses of Parliament have beene, and will be very carefull to preserve the peace of the Kingdome, by disarming of all Recusants, and such others as shall be knowne or justly suspected to be enemies thereunto, and to the pious and good endeavours of this Parliament.[29]

Religious motives for the suppression of stage-plays were important, but it was the political incentives that underpinned the Parliamentary position.

Despite the strong political motives behind the 1642 "Order for Stage-plays to cease," it has been the religious aspects of the ban that have proved most appealing to historiography. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Puritans have not received the most favourable reception over the centuries.[30] The image of the Cromwellian administration as a collection of sad and misguided moral crusaders has been a salient feature of many writings. Seen as strict, overbearing and unrelenting, the image of a group determined to deprive the population of theatrical entertainment (as well as sacred masterpieces) under the pretext of appeasing God, fitted neatly into this dominant perception. In addition, it adhered to another strong historiographical theme in the depiction of mid seventeenth century England – the period's merciless suffocation and destruction of an earlier, more glorious age. Just as the outbreak of civil war ended the wonderful English church music and madrigal traditions, so too did it demolish the flourishing theatrical industry.

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[29] "A Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament," 3rd September 1642.
[30] See pp.76-79.

The notion of an emerging regime desperate to maintain order provides a logical explanation for this "destruction," and in doing so challenges one of the major pillars of the period's historiographical reception. By emphasising the desire of the Commonwealth administration "to appease and avert the Wrath of God" at the expense of all other considerations, the cultural environment of mid-seventeenth-century England comes to appear more and more as a chronological and Puritanical nemesis eating away at the astounding achievements of the great Elizabethan age.[31] A solid and realistic political explanation for one of the most commonly cited examples of Puritan fundamentalism does not conform to this portrayal. On another level, such political aims become easily clouded by chronological confusion and geographical expectations. From the early twenty-first century it is tempting to superimpose current first-world democratic ideals onto mid-seventeenth-century English politics. Put differently, restrictions on the theatre merge with a modern Western mindset in which severe political censorship is considered the preserve of repressive regimes rather than nations such as the United Kingdom. This perception, combined with the negative image generally accorded to Puritanism, has greatly influenced the interpretation of the Commonwealth ban on stage-plays. Given this general imbalance between comfortable reception and harsh reality, it is not surprising that the religious facets of the 1642 ordinance should so frequently have been emphasized at the expense of political considerations.

Important as the motives behind the 1642 ordinance were, they do not in themselves provide a direct account of the impact of the Civil War and

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[31] Firth and Rait 26.

Interregnum on mid-seventeenth-century English theatre music. Although the ordinance did bring about the cessation of stage-plays, its effect on other genres was less clear-cut. Primary amongst these was the masque whose cultivation and development continued throughout the Commonwealth. Whilst a detailed account of the Jacobean and Caroline court masque lies outside the boundaries of this thesis, the genre must be considered to some extent if the effects of the Civil War and Interregnum are to be accurately determined. Individual productions varied, but generally court masques were lengthy affairs, featuring processions, allegorical speeches, songs, dances and varying degrees of audience participation. This latter component almost invariably took the form of royal and aristocratic masque performers selecting dance partners from the court audience. Many works also contained an antimasque, a separate and self-contained plot usually involving supernatural or pastoral characters, which existed within the larger production.[32] Both masques and antimasques usually involved historical or mythological plots, to which strong allegorical links with contemporary royalty and nobility were added. Regardless of the plot however, the underlying feature was the delivery of spectacle. Detailed scenery, costumes and stage machinery were vital to a genre that frequently involved *deus ex machina* and exotic settings and which almost always served as means of state and diplomatic display.

With conditions generally favourable, it is not surprising that a relatively large number of masques were produced during the Jacobean and Caroline

[32] Although the form had probably been in use long before this, the first known use of the term "anti-masque" dates from *The Masque of Queens* (1609) with text by Ben Jonson (?1573-1637), stage designs by Inigo Jones (1573-1652) and music by Alfonso Ferrabosco (ii) (*c.*1575-1652). The words "antick masque" and "antemasque" exist in both earlier and later sources and the term "antimasque" was probably a hybrid of these. See Murray Lefkowitz, "Antimasque," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001.

periods. Of these a sizeable percentage, at least until the 1630s, were the creations of the poet Ben Jonson and architect Inigo Jones.[33] Other producers of the genre included the poets George Chapman (?1559-1634), Francis Beaumont (1584-1616), Thomas Campion (1567-1620), William Davenant, James Shirley (1596-1666) and John Milton (1608-74). To list all early-seventeenth-century masque productions would in this case be superfluous, but some better-known works include the *Masque of Blackness* (1605), *Masque of Oberon* (1611), *Lovers Made Men* (1617), *Masque of Augurs* (1622) and *Chloridia, Rites to Chloris and her Nymphs* (1631) by Jonson and Jones, the *Masque of Squires* (1613) by Campion, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634) by Shirley, *Comus* (1633 or 1634) by Milton, and *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour* (1636), *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) and *Salmacida Spoila* (1640) by Davenant.[34] Equipped with the talents of such men as Jonson, Jones and Davenant and in a court fully intent on promoting and funding the genre, it was not surprising that the reigns of James I and Charles I witnessed numerous lavish and elaborate productions. In the wake of such achievement, the effects of the Civil War and Interregnum have often been perceived as being particularly harsh.

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[33] The partnership came to an end with the production of *Chloridia* (1631) when Jonson placed his own name before that of Jones. He then viciously attacked his colleague in his *Expostulation with Inigo Jones*, accusing the architect of caring only for "thy omnipotent Designe!" Jones however won the long-brewing dispute, enjoying increased court patronage and responsibility while Jonson was ostracised from later productions. See Ben Jonson, "Expostulation with Inigo Jones," *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols, ed. H.C. Herford Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 1925-52, Vol. 8: *The Poems, the Prose Works*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1947) 402-406.

[34] The *Masque of Augurs* was the first performed at the Banqueting house in Whitehall. See Eric Walter White, *A Register of First Performances of English Operas and Semi-Operas from the 16th Century to 1980*, (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1983) 7; *Salmacida Spoila* was the last court masque performed before the outbreak of war. However, given the organisation of entertainments at the wartime court in Oxford, and the presence there of William Davenant and a number of musicians, it seems likely that some form of dramatic production, albeit on a smaller scale, continued until the fall of the city to the Parliamentarians in June 1646. See Chapter Five, pp.247-49 and Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis: 1632-1642*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984); Mary Chan, "Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth Century Dramatic Music in England," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 15 (1979): 117-73; and Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, (New York: Russell, 1962).

In terms of sources for the Jacobean and Caroline masque, the challenge lays not so much in the overall availability of documents, but rather in their relative completeness. The existence of a masque libretto by no means guarantees the survival of its music or choreography. Similarly, the allocation of music or scenery to specific works was sometimes vague particularly in the case of dance music where the title of the masque was frequently omitted.[35] To complicate matters further, the composition or compilation of music for early-seventeenth-century masques was, unlike text or stage design, usually a group undertaking. For instance Campion supplied both text and songs for his *Masque in Honour of the Marriage of Lord Hayes* (1607) yet also called upon Thomas Giles (b.*c.*1529) and Thomas Lupo (?1571-1627) to provide further songs and the required dance music.[36] With such sporadic and at times unclear preservation of sources, research into the Jacobean and Caroline masque is often hampered by the same dearth of primary source information that so frequently accompanies many other areas of early music history.

In examining the Jacobean and Caroline masque, it becomes increasingly evident that the genre possessed several characteristics that would have been offensive to Puritan sensibilities. Chief amongst these were the excesses of the

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[35] See Andrew J. Sabol, ed., *Four Hundred Songs and dances from the Stuart Masque*, (Providence: Brown UP, 1978).

[36] Some of this music was published. The songs appeared in Thomas Campion, *Description, Speeches and Songs of the Lords Maque presented in the Banquetting-house on the Mariage night of the High and Mightie, Count Palatine, and the Royally descended the Ladie Elizabeth. In a Relation of the Late Royall Entertainment Given by the Right Honourable the Lord Knowles, At Cawsome-House neere Redding: to our most Gracious Queene, Queene Anne, in her Progresse toward the Bathe, upon the seven and eight and twentie dayes of Aprill* (1613). The published dance music can be found in Philip Rosseter, *Lessons for Consort: Made by sundry Excellent Authors, and set to six seuerall instruments: Namely, the Treble Lute, Treble Violl, Base Violl, Bandora, Citterne, and the Flute* (1609). The surviving unpublished material is contained in the British Library MS. Add. 10444, a valuable source four Jacobean masque music. For a comprehensive modern edition see Andrew J. Sabol, ed., *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, (Providence: Brown UP, 1978).

genre. Although productions were usually created for a single performance, the artistic approach and expectations were far from ephemeral. In the seventeenth century the precedent for, and continuation of, such methods came largely from the Jonson/Jones partnership. Their first known collaboration, the *Masque of Blackness* (1605), very much served as a vehicle for display and spectacle. The plot supported this objective – twelve daughters of Niger, played by Queen Anne and eleven attendants, searched for "Britania (whose new name makes all tongues sing) ... Rul'd by a Svnne."[37]

If these travellers were to be conveyed along the River Niger, across the Atlantic and into Britain, serious stage machinery was required. Jonson clearly articulated his artistic aims:

> [f]irst, for the Scene, was drawn a Landtschap [landscape] consisting of small woods, and here and there a void place filled with huntings [animals at prey]; which falling, an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some paces the billow to break, as imitating that orderly disorder which is common in nature.[38]

Fortunately for Jonson he was blessed with the design capabilities of Inigo Jones who, influenced by his observations in Italy, provided a raised platform and resultant camouflage for the required stage machinery. To this was added a backdrop of landscape that could easily be removed to reveal the maritime scene, complete with moving waves. At a time when standard stage design had been a relatively small selection of props and scenery scattered around the venue, the employment of such devices was particularly effective. However such spectacle was not the result of scenery alone. In order to achieve the desired effect great

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[37] Ben Jonson, "*Masque of Blackness*," *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols, ed. H.C. Herford Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 1925-52, Vol. 7: *The Sad Shepherd, The Fall of Mortimer, Masques and Entertainments*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1941) 177.

[38] Jonson, vol. 7, 169-70.

attention was also given to costuming. For instance, the daughters of Niger in the *Masque of Blackness* achieved their quasi-African appearance through the use of dark body-paint and "traditional" dress.

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I. A NEGRO NYMPH. FOR BEN JONSON'S 'MASQUE OF BLACKNESSE', 1605.

Fig. 5. Inigo Jones. Costume design for the *Masque of Blackness*.[39]

Little was spared in the quest for a production of an elaborateness and extravagance befitting the royal court.

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[39] Inigo Jones, *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques & Plays at Court: A descriptive Catalogue of Drawings for Scenery and costumes mainly in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G. with Introduction and Notes by Percy Simpson & C.F. Bell*, (Oxford: Walpole and Malone Societies at the University Press, 1924) plate 1.

For some observers however, the casting for the *Masque of Blackness* did not impress. In a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, Dudley Carleton, speaking of the daughters of Niger, revealed that:

> [a]t the further end was a great Shell in the form of a Skallop, wherein were four Seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady *Bedford*; on the rest were placed the Ladies *Suffolk*, *Darby*, *Rich*, *Effingham*, *Ann Herbert*, *Susan Herbert*, *Elizabeth Howard*, *Walsingham* and *Bevil*. Their Apparell was rich, but too light and Curtizan-like for such great ones. ... their Faces, and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; *but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight, then* [*sic.*] *a Troop of lean-cheek'd Moors.*[40]

The appearance of women on stage, and in costumes that sometimes revealed more than contemporary fashion dictated, was therefore resented by certain members of the English populace. Yet in comparison with some later productions the costuming of the *Masque of Blackness* was relatively tame. Several sketches by Inigo Jones for the 1631 masque *Chloridia* reveal instances where considerably less was left to the imagination.[41]

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[40] Ben Jonson, "*Commentary on the Masques: The Masque of Blackness*," *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols, ed. H.C. Herford Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 1925-52, Vol. 10: *Play Commentary, Masque Commentary*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950) 448.

[41] Jones, plates 19, 16, 13. This first design was for Henrietta Maria, illustrating that such attire was by no means limited to those beyond the English royal family or aristocracy.

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98. QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA AS CHLORIS IN BEN JONSON'S 'CHLORIDIA', 1631.

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90. JEALOUSY.

Copyright of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

91. DISDAIN.

CHARACTERS FOR ANTIMASQUE IN BEN JONSON'S 'CHLORIDIA', 1631.

Fig. 6. Inigo Jones. Costume designs for *Chloridia*.[42]

Whilst there may have been some distance between artistic intention and actual practice it cannot have been too great – it seems unlikely that Jones should have drawn sketches for designs he had no hope of utilising, especially given the note to Henrietta Maria at the bottom of the first design.[43] William Prynne may well have been referring to these displays when he spoke of the visual lechery of the stage and:

> that lasciviousnesse, that filthinesse which the Stage-player acceth; which the Actor likewise representeth by women, who have banished the modesty of their sex, that so they may more easily blush at home, than on the Stage.[44]

Whilst the intricacies of Prynne's sentiments may not have been universally shared amongst all Puritans, his views on immodesty were probably common concerns.

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[42] Jones, plates 19, 16, 13. This first design was for Henrietta Maria, illustrating that such attire was by no means limited to those beyond the English royal family or aristocracy.
[43] Jones invites the Queen to suggest any additions or omissions she may desire and also suggests the use of gold and silver as being "most propper" for the costume.
[44] Prynne 162.

Impressive as the *Masque of Blackness* and other productions must have been, they also created a precedent of splendour that continued to be extended throughout the Jacobean and Caroline period, and that was eventually to produce disastrous results for both the court masque genre and the monarchical regime. As a sovereign deeply interested in the visual arts, and possessing established expectations of court theatre, it was not surprising that the masques performed for Charles I were generally even more lavish than many of their Jacobean predecessors. The completion in 1622 of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, a building designed by Inigo Jones, encouraged further extravagance.[45] In a masque by Aurelian Townshend entitled *Tempe Restored* (1632), Inigo Jones was called upon to create a:

> lightsome scene ... showing a delicious place by nature and art, where, in a valley environed with hills afar off, was seated a prospect of curious arbours of various forms. The first order, of marble pilasters, between which were niches of rock work and statues, some spurting water received into vases beneath them, and others standing on pedestals. ... All this second story seemed of silver work mixed with fresh verdures, which on the tops of these arbours covered some of the returns, in the form of types, with tender branches dangling down; others were covered flat, and hand flowerpots of gold for finishing.[46]

Such displays were not without precedent. The *Masque of Oberon*, a Jonson/Jones production of 1611, used advanced "groove and shutter" scenery and:

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[45] Despite this, the performance of masques at the venue continued only for thirteen years. In 1635 when £3000 worth of paintings by Rubens was fixed to the ceiling, it was feared that the artwork might be damaged by the large amounts of candle smoke from the stage lighting of masque productions. The Stuart solution was to build a new masquing hall next door, the venue for several court masques staged between 1637 and 1640. See "A Warrant to Mr Survayer to cause a great roome of Timber with Degrees for Masques to bee presently built over the Tarras at Whiltehall betwixt the banqueting house and the Great Chamber." *Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records, 1516-1920*, 260 vols, Public Record Office, Kew, vol. 134, L.C.5/134.

[46] Aurelian Townshend, "*Tempe Restored* (1632)," *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605-1640*, ed. David Lindley, The World's Classics, ed. Michael Cordner, (Oxford: OUP, 1995) 156.

> divers diaphanal glasses filled with several waters that showed like so many stones of orient and transparent hues

that cost a total of £2100.[47] At a time when £1 was the approximate economic equivalent of £100 in today's currency, such outlays were exorbitant.[48]

In some respects however, masques such as *Oberon* and *Tempe Restored* were relatively low budget. On the title page of *Histriomastix* Prynne asserted:

> that popular Stage-playes (the very Pompes of the Divell which we renounce in Baptisme, if we believe the Fathers) are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly Spectacles, and most pernicious Corruptions; condemned in all ages, as intolerable Mischiefes to Churches, to Republickes, to the manners, mindes and soules of men. And that the Profession of Play-poets, of Stage-playes, are unlawfull, infamous and misbeseeming Christians.[49]

It was in response that Charles I requested a masque on an economic scale hitherto unseen.[50] The result was the *Triumph of Peace*, staged by the Inns of Court at the Banqueting House in Whitehall on 3rd February 1634.[51] This was no ordinary masque. In addition to the stage production itself, the work also incorporated a lavish procession through the streets of London and utilised the forces of large numbers of musicians. Bulstrode Whitelocke, a member of Parliament assigned the task of organising the music, described the spectacle as follows:

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[47] J.L. Styan. *The English Stage: A History of Drama and Performance*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1996) 195. See also Jonson, vol. 10: 518-27.

[48] "How Much is That Worth Today?," *Economic History Services*, http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/, 8th April 2003.

[49] Prynne, title page.

[50] Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to the Happy Restoration of King Charles the Second*, 1682, 4 vols., (Oxford: OUP, 1853), vol. 1, 51-52.

[51] The "Inns of Court" refers to four legal societies – Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple – based in London. They were founded in the medieval period and still continue today. At the request of Henrietta Maria a second performance of *The Triumph of Peace* was given at the Merchant Taylor's Hall in the City of London on 13th February 1634. See White, *Register* 9.

> The banqueting-house at Whitehall was so crowded with fair ladies, glittering with their rich clothes and richer jewels, and with lords and gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the king and queen to enter in. The king and queen stood at a window looking straightforward into the street, to see the mask come by; and being delighted with the noble bravery of it, they sent to the marshal to desire that the whole show might fetch a turn about the tilt-yard, that their majesties might have double view of them; which was done accordingly, and then they all alighted at Whitehall-gate, and were conducted to several rooms and places prepared for them.
>
> The king and queen and all their noble train being come in, the mask began, and was incomparably performed in the dancing, speeches, music, and scenes; the dances, figures, properties, the voices, instruments, songs, airs, composures, the words and actions, were all of them exact, and none failed in their parts of them, and the scenes were most curious and costly.
>
> The queen did the honour to some of the maskers to dance with them herself, and to judge them as good dancers as ever she saw; and the great ladies were very free and civil in dancing with all the maskers, as they were taken out by them.
>
> Thus they continued in their sports until it was almost morning, and then the king and queen retiring to their chamber, the maskers and inns of court gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet, and after that was dispersed, every one departed to their own quarters.
>
> Thus was this earthly pomp and glory, if not vanity, soon passed over and gone, as if it had never been.
>
> The persons employed in this mask were paid justly and liberally; some of the music had one hundred pounds apiece, so that the whole charge of the music came to about a thousand pounds; the clothes of the horsemen, and the liveries of their pages and lackeys, which were at their own particular charge, were reckoned on with another at a hundred pounds a suit at the least, and one hundred of those suits to amount to ten thousand pounds. The charges of all the rest of the mask and matters belonging to it were reckoned at as much more, and so the charge of the whole mask, which was borne by the societies, and by the particularly members of it, was accounted to be above one and twenty thousand pounds.[52]

In producing such a grand work little expense was spared.

Of the music, a percentage has survived. The principal autograph manuscript of the vocal music of William Lawes contains four of his songs from *The Triumph of Peace* whilst an additional song and four-part chorus are easily

[52] Whitelocke 60-61.

reconstructed.[53] Yet Lawes was not the only composer involved in this production. Both James Shirley and Bulstrode Whitelocke revealed that:

> [t]he composition of the music was performed by Mr. William Lawes and Mr. Simon Ives, whose art gave a harmonious soul to the otherwise languishing numbers

and that £100 was paid to both "for composition of songes and symphonyes."[54] Whitelocke also included Davis Mell (1604-62) amongst the composers, writing mainly for the antimasque and receiving payment in the form of a:

> reward of the Inns of Courte for service performed in attending the grand masquers practise playing to them on the treble violin & making some of the tunes for the antimasques.[55]

Peter Walls, who has undertaken a detailed examination of the musical forces involved in *The Triumph of Peace*, has also identified the contributions of another two musicians, Étienne Noe and Sebastian La Pierre.[56] The archives of the Middle Temple reveal that, like Lawes and Ives, De Noe and Sebastian received substantial financial reward:

> ffyftie poundes beinge the fourth parte of Twoe hundred poundes to bee forthwth paide equallie to M^{r} De Noe and M^{r} Sebastian for Composing the tunes and settinge the figures for the graund Masque and Anti-Masques and for their seruices performed in their attendance on the graund Masquers in their practise and in their directions to the Anti-Masquers.[57]

As for many theatrical works of the period, the music for *The Triumph of Peace* was very much a collaborative affair.

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[53] Peter Walls has undertaken an in-depth study of the musical sources of *The Triumph of Peace* and other Caroline masques. See Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 177-89; Holman 300.

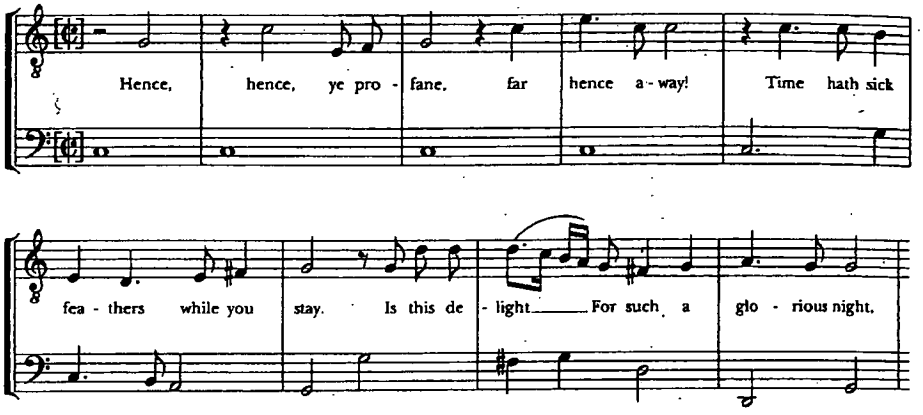
[54] James Shirley, "*The Triumph of Peace*," *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*," 6 vols, (London: John Murray, 1833), vol. 6, 284; Whitelocke 61.

[55] Whitelocke Papers, Longleat House, Parcel II, item 9; Quoted in Walls 159.

[56] Walls 159-77.

[57] T. Orbison and R.F. Hill, eds., "The Middle Temple Documents Relating to James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace*," *Malone Society Collections* 12 (1983), 58.

Whilst not all of the music is extant, that which has survived provides a reasonably clear picture of the work. The song of William Lawes, "Hence, ye profane," combines clear declaration with melodic interest. The strong tonalities of its opening assist in this process, firmly establishing C major before modulating to the dominant:

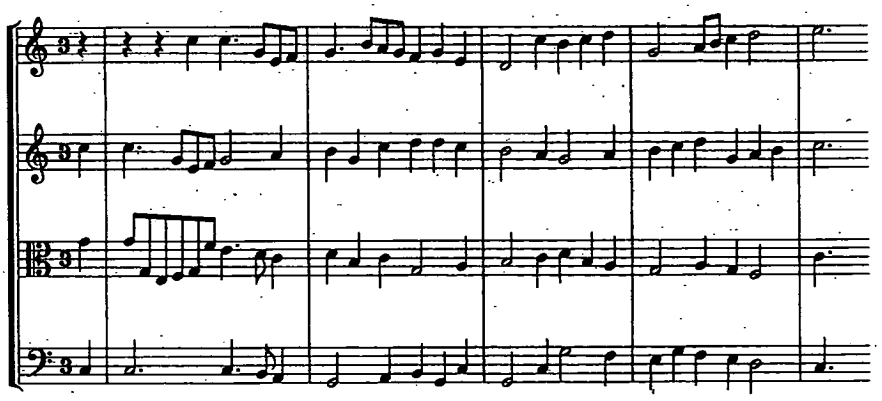


Ex. 18. William Lawes. "Hence, ye profane" from *The Triumph of Peace*.[58]

Since the majority of surviving music for the Caroline court masque derives from an autograph manuscript of William Lawes, the contributions of other composers are harder to verify.[59] A piece that was probably included in *The Triumph of Peace* was "Bulstrode Whitelocke's Coranto," a dance arranged and expanded by Simon Ives. The close association of both Ives and Whitelocke with the 1634 production, and the composition of the courante around this time would have made it a likely addition:

[58] Holman 302.

[59] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Mus. Sch. B2. This manuscript also contains Lawes' contributions to *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* (1636) and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), both by William Davenant.



Ex. 19. Simon Ives. "Bulstrode Whitelocke's Coranto" from *The Triumph of Peace*.[60]

Either way, the musical content of *The Triumph of Peace* was not the main cause of public concern.

The work proved an economic point, but the core sentiments of the production were very much political. A display of unfathomable loyalty for Charles I, and a plot that extolled the virtues of political calm (provided it suited the Crown) in the wake of Puritan criticisms, had objectives that went well beyond the financial. *The Triumph of Peace* must have been spectacular but, as the price tag of £21 000 so clearly illustrated, such grandness was not achieved without substantial economic investment.[61] At a time when Charles I had reinstated ship money and other obsolete duties and disbanded Parliament for refusing to fund military campaigns abroad, the fiscal irresponsibility that accompanied the royal establishment was a justifiable concern. Court masques were simply not immune to the effects of that which repeatedly shaped and determined relations between Charles I, Parliament and many of his subjects – money.

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[60] Holman 299.

[61] This would be the equivalent of around £2 100 000 today. "How Much is That Worth Today?"

Puritan opposition was also fed by the presence of French influences, sometimes blatant and at other times subtle, within the Caroline court masque. Although such concerns may individually appear to be of little importance, when placed within a wider historical context their significance becomes more obvious. Puritan reactions to French aspects of the Caroline court masque were simply a small component of a much larger issue – the strong French Catholic influence within the royal court. From a primarily musical perspective, the strongest French aspects within the court masque pertained to the structure and placement of dance material. Influence of the *ballet de cour* can be seen in Jacobean examples where the French *entreé* was increasingly incorporated into English court productions. The first firm instance of this can be seen in Campion's *Masque in Honour of the Marriage of Lord Hayes* (1607) where reference was given to the masquers beginning "their first new entring dance."[62]

Despite this however, such influences did not become pronounced until the Caroline period. *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, a Jonson/Jones production of 1631, featured a distinct departure from earlier productions – a fully-danced antimasque.[63] The authors acknowledged the role of Henrietta Maria in this decision. Their preface reads:

> Wee, the Inuentors, being commanded from the King, to thinke on some thing worthy of his Maiesties putting in act, with a selected company of his Lords, and Gentlemen, called to the assistance: For the honor of his Court, and the dignity of that heroique loue, and regall respect borne by him to his vnmatchable Lady, and Spouse, the Queenes Maiestie.[64]

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[62] Thomas Campion, *The Masque at Lord Hay's Marriage*, 1607, fac. ed., (Menston, Yorkshire: The Scolar Press, 1973). Walls 231.
[63] Walls 233.
[64] Jonson, vol. 7, 735-36.

The incorporation of a fully-danced antimasque was a practice that continued throughout the Caroline period, featured in *Albion's Triumph* (1632) and *Tempe Restored* (1632) by Aurelian Townshend (1583?-1651?, *fl.*1601-43), *The Temple of Love* (1635) by Davenant and culminating in the twenty continuously danced entries of *Salmacida Spoila* (1640).[65]

The vast majority of Puritan opponents were little interested in these structural, musical and chorographical aspects of French influence in the Caroline court masque. Their concern was vested far deeper – in the insidious political overtones so prevalent in these productions. Concerns regarding the level of Catholic power at court and surrounding the King were commonplace amongst a sizeable percentage of the English population. The existence of a French Catholic consort, Henrietta Maria, and her numerous attendants heightened these concerns still further.[66] With Europe embroiled in a bloody three-decade war involving Catholics against Protestants, combined with the long-standing animosity between Britain and France, French Catholics at the royal court were never likely to be popular. Within the genre of the court masque, the most obvious example of French influence came not in the elements of music and dance but in the very thing that held it all together – the plot. The libretti of early-seventeenth-century masques may well have served as a framework on which to hang displays of extravagance and spectacle, but in many instances, and increasingly into the 1620s and 1630s, plots served a political purpose as well. Glorification of the sovereign had long been a feature of court productions, but the stringent

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[65] Text also by Davenant. Walls 234-37.

[66] Around 4000 courtiers and servants attended Henrietta Maria on her arrival in England in June 1625. In the early years of their marriage Charles reduced the number to several hundred much to the dismay of French diplomats. See Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983; London: Ark Paperbacks, 1984) 76.

affirmation of a divine right to rule at a time when the forces of history were challenging the notion, and in the wake of a political turmoil that was eventually to overrun the institution of the monarchy itself, such aspects took on new meanings and deeper significance.

The Sun King, Louis XIV of France (1638-1715, r.1643-1715), was not the only European monarch seen as deserving an enlightened relationship with this particular astral body. As mentioned earlier, the daughters of Niger in the *Masque of Blackness* (1605) found their "Britania ... Rul'd by a Svnne" in the form of James I.[67] The second Stuart was likewise accorded such comparisons. In a booklet produced by Francis Lenton (*fl.*1630-40) to describe the masque *Luminalia* (1638), a form of publication itself a French institution, the connections were made clear.[68] As the lines of the Queen so clearly indicated, Charles I managed to take on a character that was undoubtedly celestial:

> A morning *Star*, whose Rose at blush and smile,
> Shewed the dayes solace and the nights exile;
> A radient Star, whose lustre, more Divine,
> By Charles (our Sun) doth gloriously shine.[69]

Considering the increasingly heated political climate of the late 1630s, such gratuity did little to endear the King to opposing subjects. The Francophilia endemic amongst many in the nobility and upper classes, whether demonstrated through the employment of French dancing-masters or musicians, or in the subtle displays of French influence in English masques, won few friends beyond these circles. Praise of the monarch had always existed but the character of this

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[67] Jonson, vol. 7, 177.
[68] *Luminalia, or The Festival of Light* had text by William Davenant and designs by Inigo Jones. The music is anonymous but it has been suggested by Edward F. Rimbault that it was by Nicholas Lanier and printed at the end of the masque. See White, *Register* 10; Walls 226.
[69] Francis Lenton, *Great Britains Beauties or the Female Glory*, *c.*1638, 2. Quoted in Walls 226.

adoration had moved against, rather than with, the political circumstances of the time.

In light of this, the political statement that was *The Triumph of Peace* becomes even more caustic. Conceived as a display of unrelenting loyalty to the Crown in the wake of hardline Puritan opposition, the work proved two main points. Firstly, it heightened the value of Royalist support, demanding that the Inns of Court stage the production in order to prove their allegiances. This in turn fed the notions of "us and them" that have been at the core of numerous wars, displays of violence and suppression of selected groups within humanity. By the 1630s it was becoming increasingly difficult to occupy middle ground. Secondly, *The Triumph of Peace* proved overwhelmingly that Charles was prepared to use exorbitant economic means in order to achieve his political goals. At a cost of £21 000 it was a masque whose purposes went well beyond mere entertainment. The plot was incumbent with French-style analogies and largely served as an artistic tool to support and justify the work's extravagance. For instance, the central role of Charles and Henrietta Maria was contemporaneous with growing concerns about the latter's Catholic influence on the King and the religious instruction of their children.[70] The appearance of Irene (Peace), Eunomia (Law) and Diche (Justice) before the thrones of Charles and Henrietta Maria was not solely an artistic decision but instead part of a wider glorification of the second Stuart and his consort. The text was as follows:

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[70] The conditions of the 1625 marriage allowed Henrietta Maria, her children and servants to openly practice Catholicism, have a chapel in London open to the public and serviced by twenty-eight priests and one bishop, and educate any royal children as Catholics until the age of thirteen. Furthermore, it granted English Catholics complete religious toleration and allowed the Louis XIII, the King of France and Henrietta Maria's brother, to select the Queen's servants and advisors. See Carlton 56.

To you, great king and queen, whose smile
Doth scatter blessings through this isle,
To make it best
And wonder of the rest,
We pay the duty of our birth;
Proud to wait upon that earth
Whereon you move,
Which shall be nam'd
Andy by your chaste embraces fam'd,
The paradise of love.
Irene, plant thy olives here:
Thus warm'd, at one they'll bloom and bear;
Eunomia, pay thy light;
While Diche, covetous to stay,
Shall throw her silver wings away,
To dwell within your sight.[71]

God may have been used to justify the Commonwealth stance on the theatre, and religious considerations were certainly of great concern, but underlying this were strong political incentives.

In considering both the religious and political aspects of the 1642 ordinance, it becomes apparent that it was not really the music of the theatre which the Puritan authorities found objectionable. To be sure, Prynne had commented on the "amourours, obscene, lascivious lust-provoking Songs" that he saw as invariably accompanying the theatre, and lyrics with pro-Royalist messages were unlikely to be popular, but on the whole the response to music was more moderate.[72] The 1642 legislation abolished the performance of stage-plays but it did not extend, at least not in principle and rarely in practice, to the prohibition of other theatrical genres such as masques, operas and drolls.[73] Furthermore the ban was not extended to performances staged in private residences. These exceptions and legislative loopholes ensured that for

[71] Shirley, vol. 6, 277.
[72] Prynne 261.
[73] Drolls were simply short comic pieces or selected segments of larger plays.

playwrights, composers and others involved in the theatre, music and venue could prove a valuable means through which to circumvent Commonwealth regulations. By incorporating a sizeable percentage of music, increasingly employing the dramatic tools of dance and song, and presenting large portions of dialogue in non-spoken form, a theatrical production could be deemed as something other than a play and so avoid censure. The irony was that the 1640s and 1650s, at least after the turbulence of the Civil War, played a major role in the development of English opera:

> [i]t was only when the Puritans succeeded in suppressing the drama that masques were able to assume a more definitely dramatic form, and that a real systematic attempt at English opera could be made.[74]

This contrasts significantly with the strong historiographical perception of the Civil War and Interregnum period as a time when "no singing but the singing of David's Psalms was to be tolerated."[75]

Two works in particular stand out in Commonwealth theatre: *Cupid and Death* (1653, 1659) and *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656). The first of these was a masque, the libretto by James Shirley and music by Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons (1615-1676).[76] The plot of *Cupid and Death* was relatively straightforward. Based on the fables of Aesop (*c.*620BC-*c.*564BC) it revolved around the Greek mythological characters of Cupid and Death and their stay at an inn. The Chamberlain, looking for some excitement, switches the arrows whilst his guests are asleep. When Cupid now fires an arrow, the intended lovers die

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[74] Dent 3.

[75] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776, 5 vols, 2nd ed., 1853, 2 vols, rpt, (New York: Dover, 1963) 582.

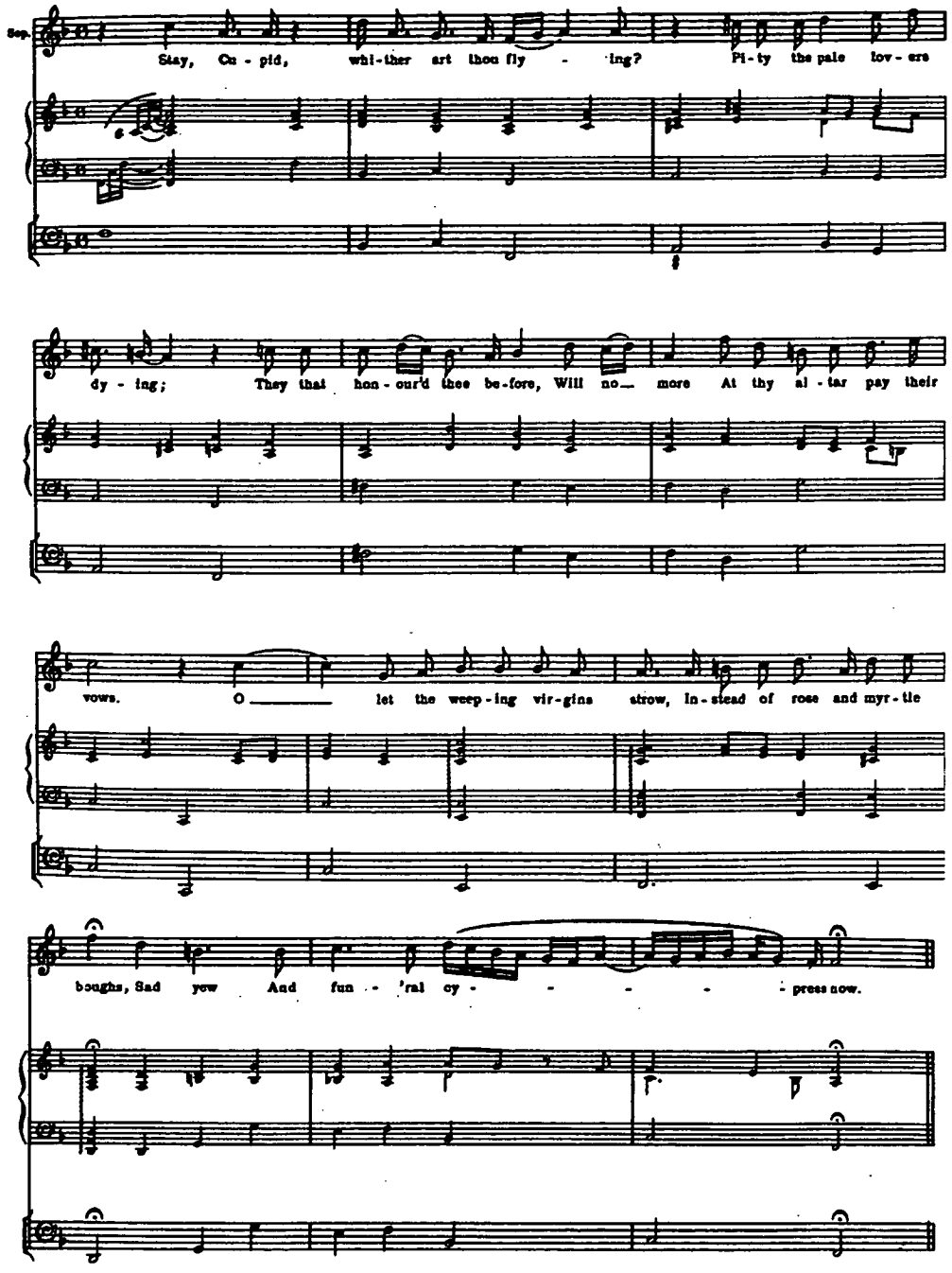
[76] Christopher Gibbons was the eldest surviving son of Orlando Gibbons and his wife Elizabeth (neé Patten). He probably served as a chorister in the Chapel Royal and on the sudden death of his father in 1625 may have resided with one or both of his uncles, Ellis and Edward Gibbons, both of whom were musicians. See Christopher D.S. Field, "Gibbons, Christopher," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001.

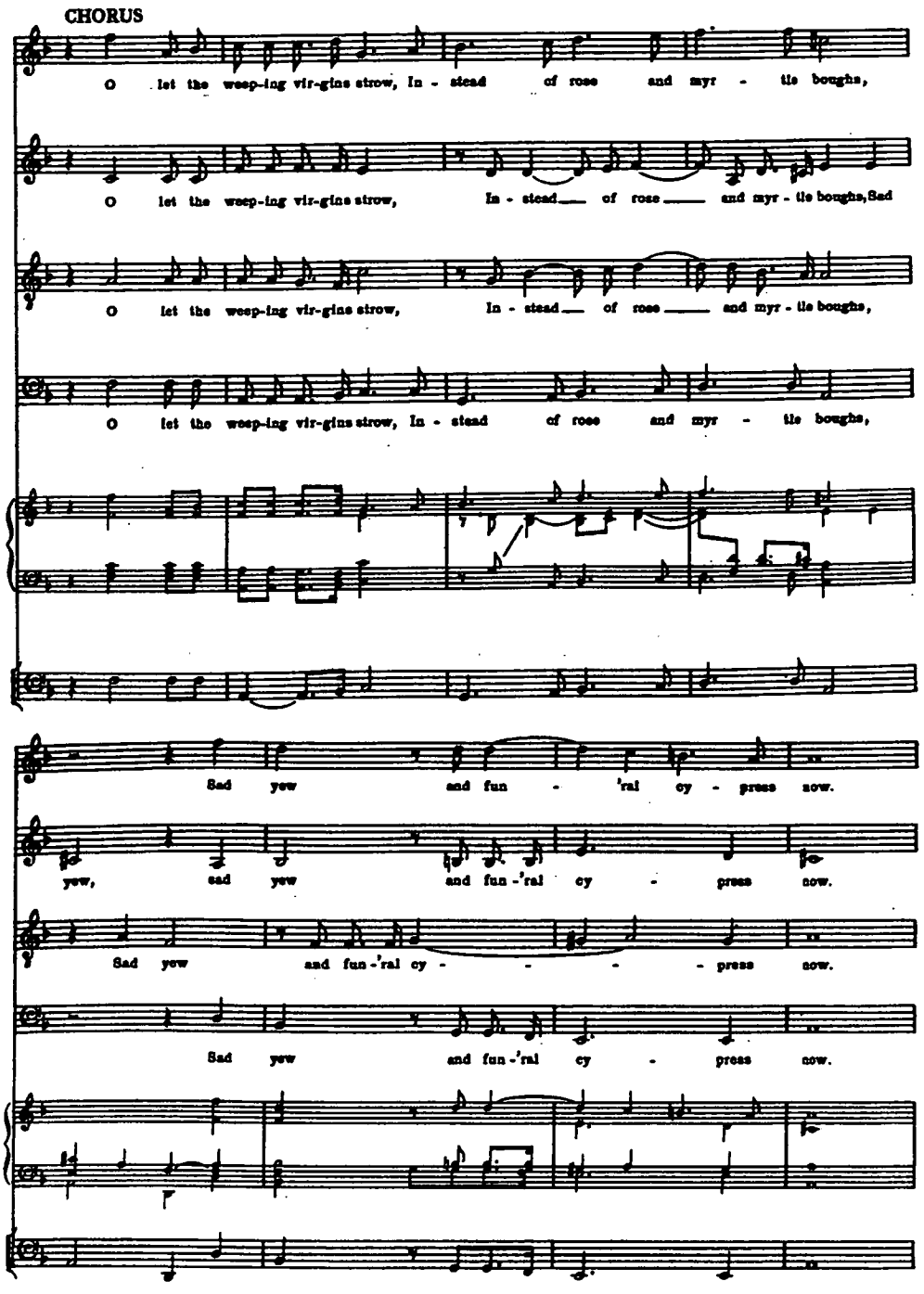
whilst those hit by Death, such as the elderly or soldiers in the heat of battle, are quickly rejuvenated or become close comrades with their former enemies. Mother Nature, distressed and horrified at these events, calls on Mercury to rectify the situation and falls asleep until normality has been returned. The Chamberlain has meanwhile sought employment elsewhere, showing apes at a fair, and is understandably devastated when, after being hit by one of Cupid's arrows fired by Death, his beloved charges are stolen by Satyrs. Mercury descends to rectify the situation, and Mother Nature awakes and is consoled by the fact that all is as it should be and that her slain lovers are at peace in the Elysium Fields. The work ends with a final chorus.

Cupid and Death was divided into five acts or "entries," each featuring speeches, dances, songs and choruses. It was first performed at a private venue in London, possibly the school in Whitefriars where Shirley was a teacher.[77] Being a school, such a venue would have been exempt from government regulations, although the amount of music in *Cupid and Death* would probably have been more than enough to label the production as something other than a stage-play. At any rate, the authorities had little interest in prohibiting the work. In stark contrast to the image of the Commonwealth regime as the harsh oppressor of all forms of theatrical entertainment, *Cupid and Death* was performed on 26th March 1653 for the official visit of the Portuguese ambassador. In the midst of a supposedly sterile and stagnant musical period, the pieces contained in *Cupid and Death* are of high quality. The song and chorus of the Third Entry, "Stay Cupid,

[77] Margaret Laurie, "Music for the Stage II: from 1650," *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink, Music in Britain, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 307.

whither art though flying?" and "O let the weeping virgins strow" provides some indication:



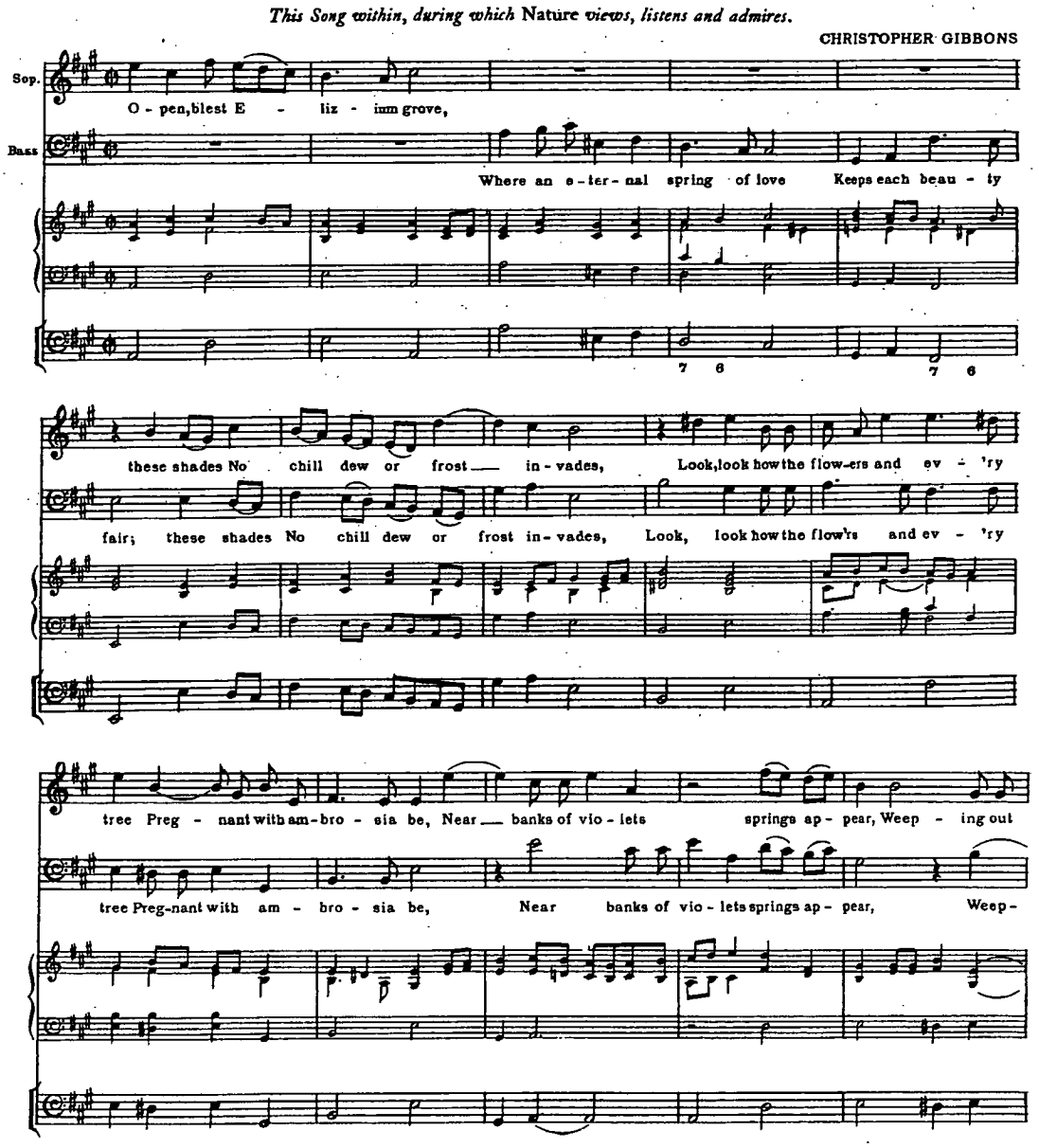


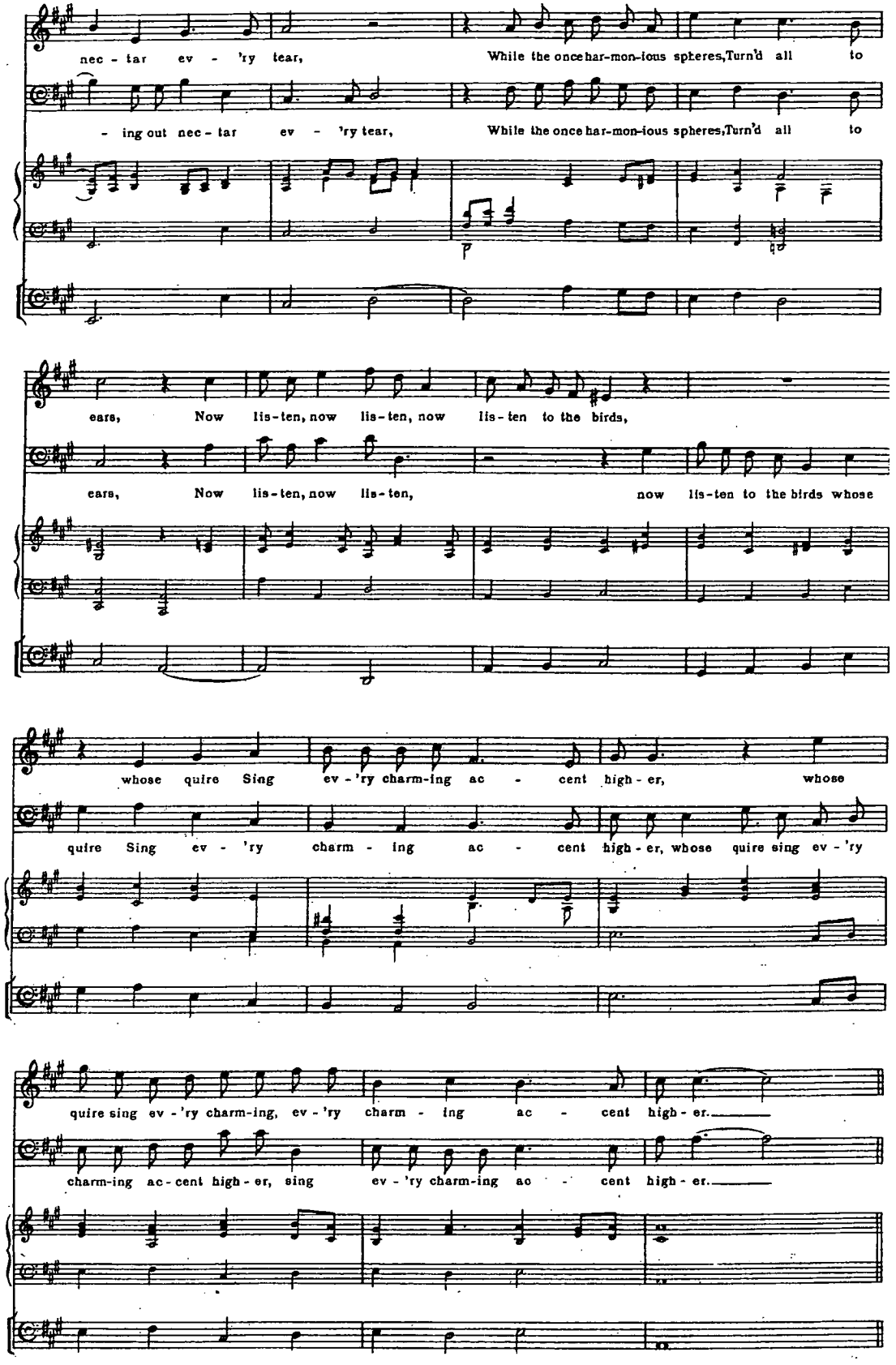
Ex. 20. Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons. "Stay Cupid, whither art though flying?" and "O let the weeping virgins strow" from *Cupid and Death.*[78]

The substantial harmonic and melodic texture of the air is both enhanced and complemented in the ensuing chorus. The overall effect is reminiscent of a famous lament in a slightly later English opera or a well-known oratorio of the

[78] Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons, *Cupid and Death*, ed. Edward J. Dent, *Musica Britannica* 2, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1951): 27-30.

ensuing century. The quality continues throughout the work, such as in the soprano and bass duet "Open bless'd Elysian Grove" and the Suite of Dances from the Second Entry:

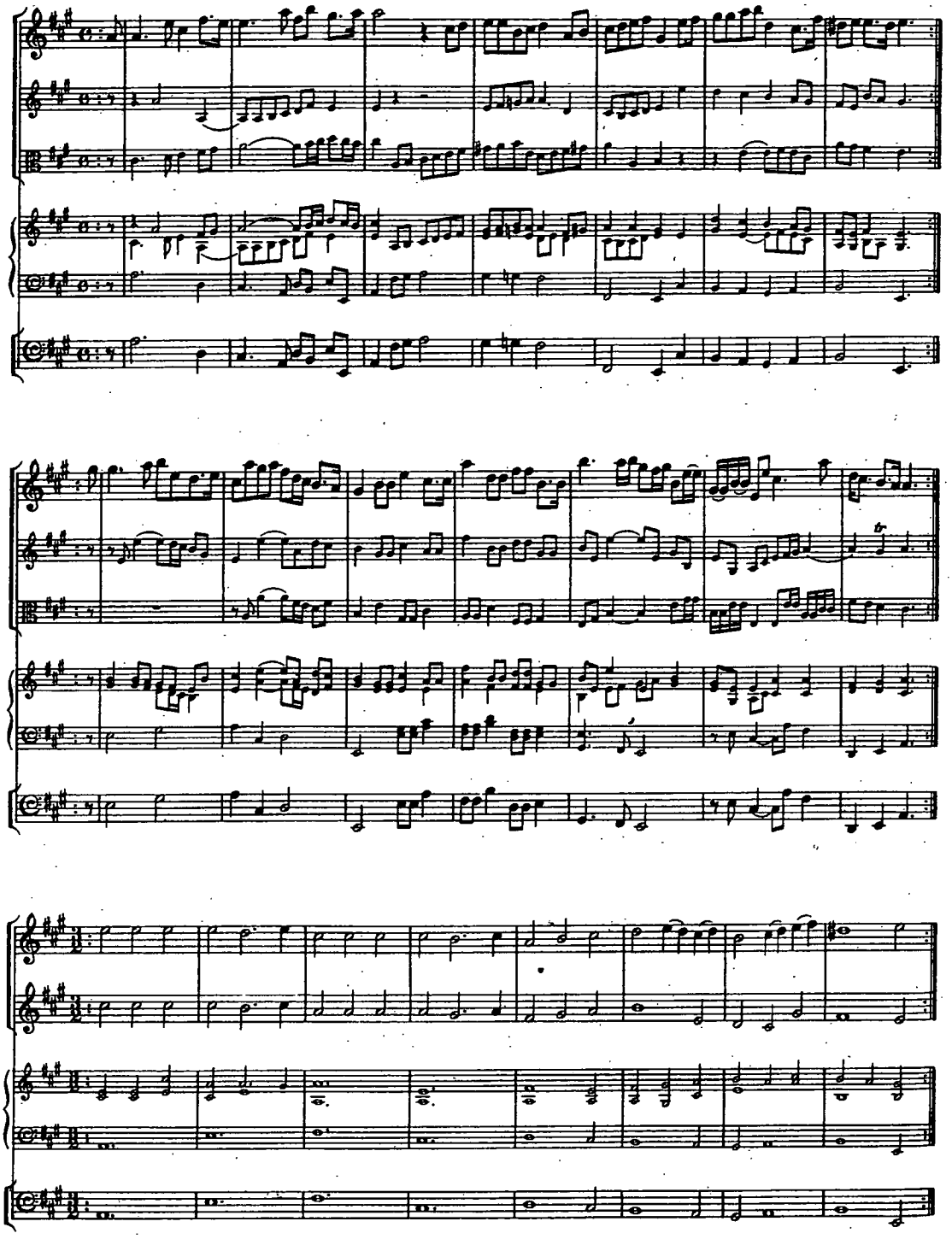


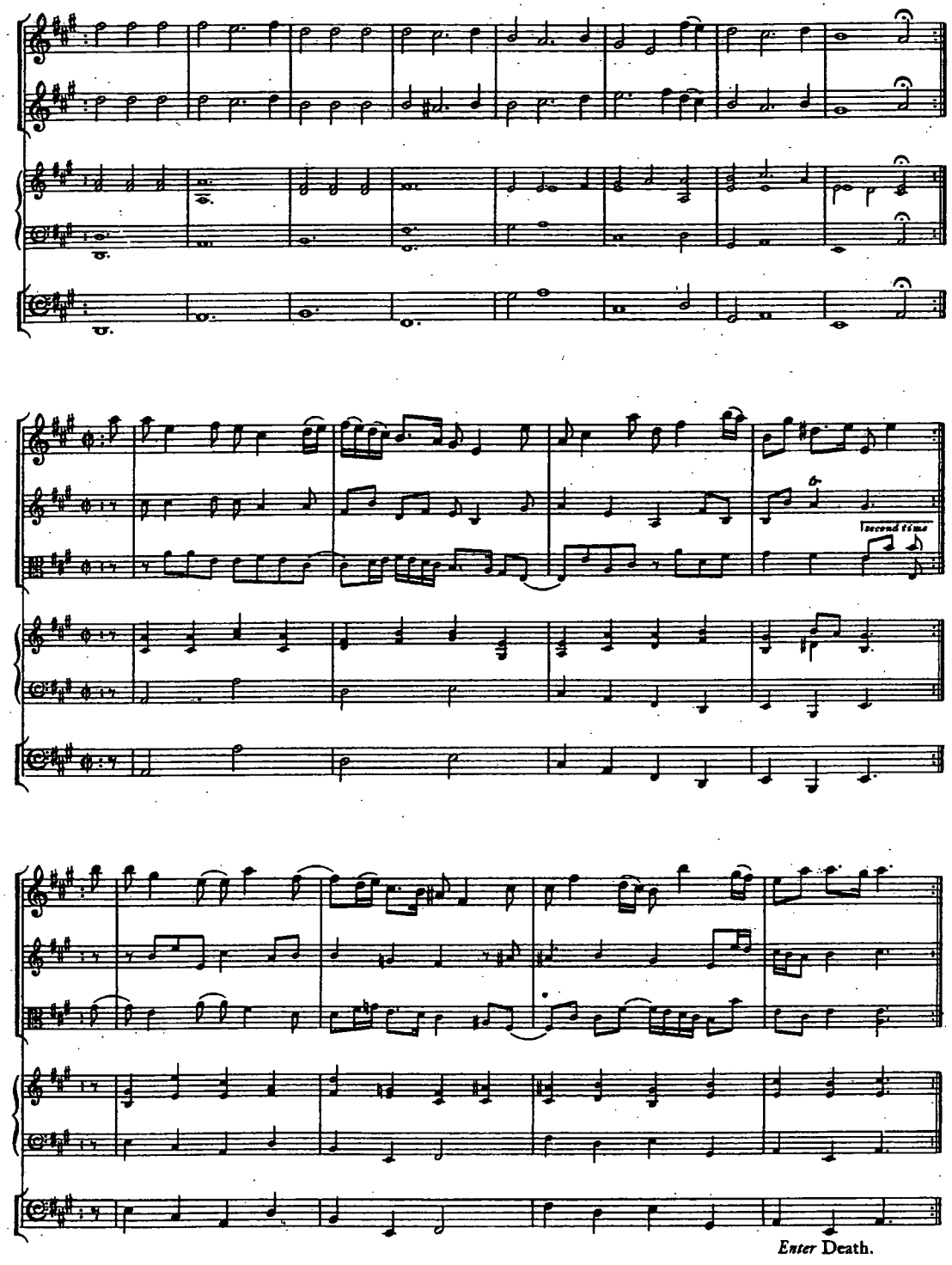


Ex. 21. Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons. "Open bless'd Elysian Grove" from *Cupid and Death.*[79]

[79] Locke and Gibbons, *Cupid and Death*, ed. Edward J. Dent, *Musica Britannica* 2, 68-70.

SECOND ENTRY





Ex. 22. Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons. Second Entry: Suite of Dances from *Cupid and Death.*[80]

The music for *Cupid and Death* is contained in a single manuscript – the score of the 1659 version including the music of Christopher Gibbons but in the hand of

[80] Locke and Gibbons, *Cupid and Death*, ed. Edward J. Dent, *Musica Britannica* 2, 12-13.

Matthew Locke.[81] The contribution of the latter to the 1653 production is therefore difficult to ascertain. It is possible that the music heard by the Portuguese ambassador in 1653 was composed entirely by Gibbons, that other composers apart from Locke were involved, or that few alterations were made in the six years between productions. Shirley's libretto has fortunately survived but the choreography of Luke Channen seems to have been lost to history.

Unfortunately, sources for *The Siege of Rhodes* are less forthcoming. It is a sad fact that the randomness of time has failed to preserve the music of what was possibly "the first English attempt at opera."[82] Nevertheless, significant information can be gleaned from the components of the work that do survive. Most notable to the topic at hand was the wording employed by the author of *The Siege of Rhodes*, William Davenant. Having already been in trouble for his pro-Royalist stance during the Civil War, forced into exile in France, captured by the Commonwealth authorities whilst attempting to leave for Maryland, jailed in the Tower of London, and released in August 1654 deeply in debt, Davenant was taking no chances. *The Siege of Rhodes* was not a play but instead:

> a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes. And the Story sung in *Recitative* Musick. At the back part of *Rutland*-House in the upper end of *Aldersgate*-Street, London.[83]

Comprising of five scenes or "entries," the libretto focussed on the 1522 siege of the island of Rhodes by the Ottoman Sultan, Solyman the Magnificent. John Webb, a pupil of Inigo Jones, designed the scenery.

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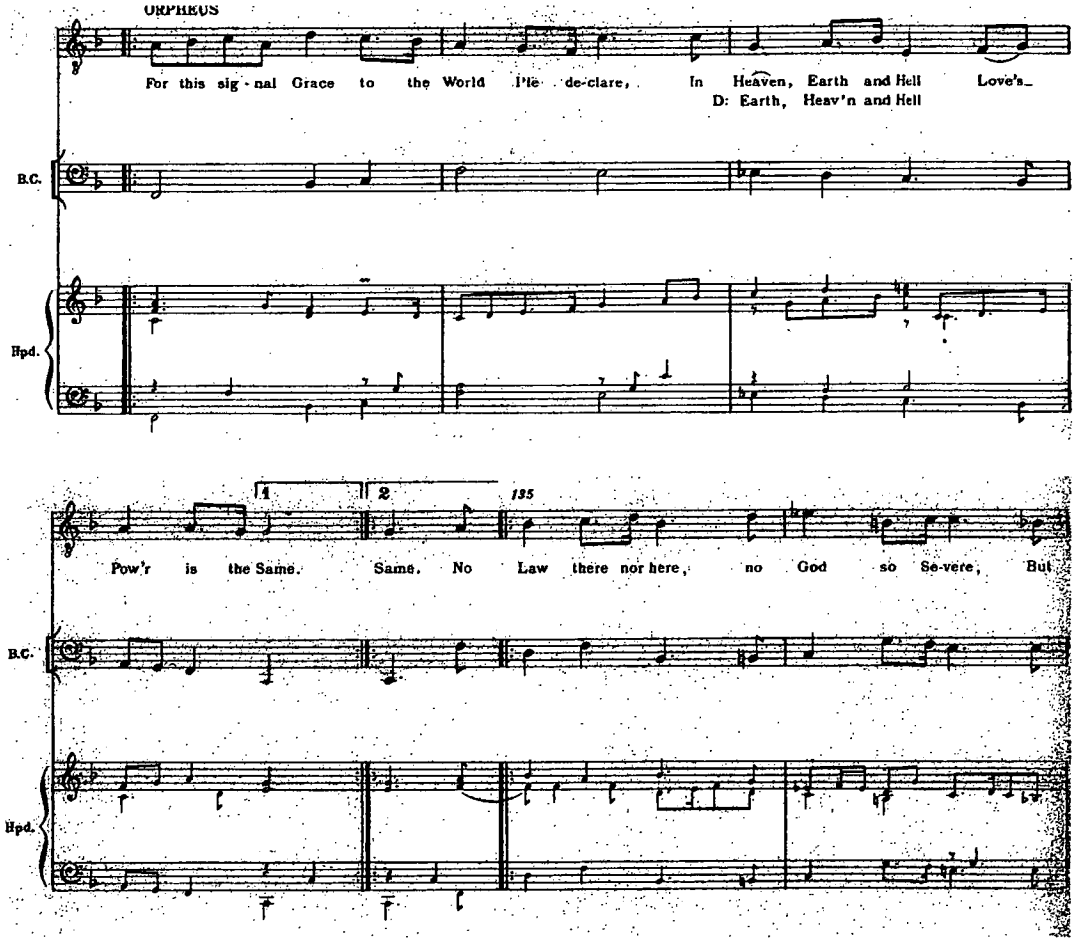
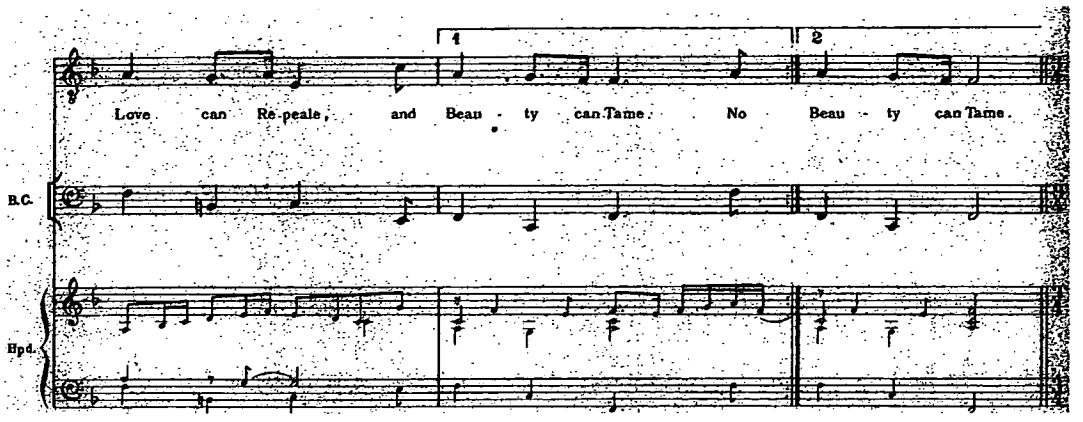
[81] Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons, *The Instrumentale and vocale musique in the morale representation at the military ground, in Lescestre Fields*, 1659, British Library MS Add. 17799.
[82] Dent 65.
[83] William Davenant, "*The Siege of Rhodes*," *The Dramatic Works of William Davenant: With Prefatory Memoir and Notes*, 5 vols, ed. James Maidment and W.H. Logan, vol. 3, (Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran, 1872) 232.

Although the music has not survived, the libretto of the work did reveal the identity of the composers involved – Henry Lawes for the first and fifth entries, Henry Cooke (*c.*1615-72) for the second and fourth entries, and Matthew Locke for the third entry. Charles Coleman (d.1664) and George Hudson (d.1672) composed the instrumental music.[84] Whilst their work on *The Siege of Rhodes* has been lost, some indication might be gleaned from other examples of their output. Locke's contribution to *The Empress of Morocco* (1673) provides a possible example of what might have been utilised in *The Siege of Rhodes:*



[84] Davenant 236.



Ex. 23. Matthew Locke. "The Mask" from *The Empress of Morocco*.[85]

The Siege of Rhodes proved to be popular, enjoying revivals at the Cockpit in Drury Lane during the late 1650s and at Lincoln's Inn Fields after the Restoration. However this post-1660 version, whilst it employed music, returned to the largely spoken format of the stage-play.[86] Experiments with recitative were a useful means of circumventing Commonwealth regulations, but as a long-term solution English playwrights and audiences tended to prefer spoken dialogue to the trappings of opera.

Cupid and Death and *The Siege of Rhodes* were not the only works performed during this period. In 1654 a masque entitled *Cupid his Coronation*, with text by Thomas Jordan (*c.*1614-1685):

> was Presented with good Approbation at the Spittle diverse tymes by Masters and yong Ladyes that were theyre [*sic.*] Scholors.[87]

[85] Michael Tilmouth, ed., *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music, with the Music by Humfrey, Banister, Reggio and Hart for 'The Tempest,' Musica Britannica*, vol. 51, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1986) 14-15.

[86] The post-Restoration version has also been lost.

[87] The venue was Spitalfields. Quoted in White, *Register* 10. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson B.165 ff.107-14.

Three years later the Introduction and an antimasque were incorporated into another masque by Jordan, *Fancy's Festivals* (1657).[88] Several months before *The Siege of Rhodes*, Davenant had produced another work, *The First Dayes Entertainment* performed:

> at Rutland House, by Declamations and Musick: After the Manner of the Ancients.[89]

The writer's skill in tactfully describing his productions was also evident in other work. *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) and *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (1659) were:

> Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes, &c.[90]

Unfortunately, the music for these Davenant productions has not survived.[91]

This is doubly tragic considering that in the Prologue to *The First Dayes Entertainment* Davenant advised his audience to:

> Think this your passage, and the narrow way
> To our Elysian field, the opera:
> Tow'rds which some say we have gone far about,
> Because it seemes so long since we set out.
> Think now the way grown short, and that you light
> At this small inn, to bait, not stay all night;[92]

Some indication of what Davenant, or rather what his composers for *The First Dayes Entertainment* may have been hoping to achieve was possibly illustrated in an extended musical monologue *Hero and Leander* (*c.*1617) by Nicholas Lanier

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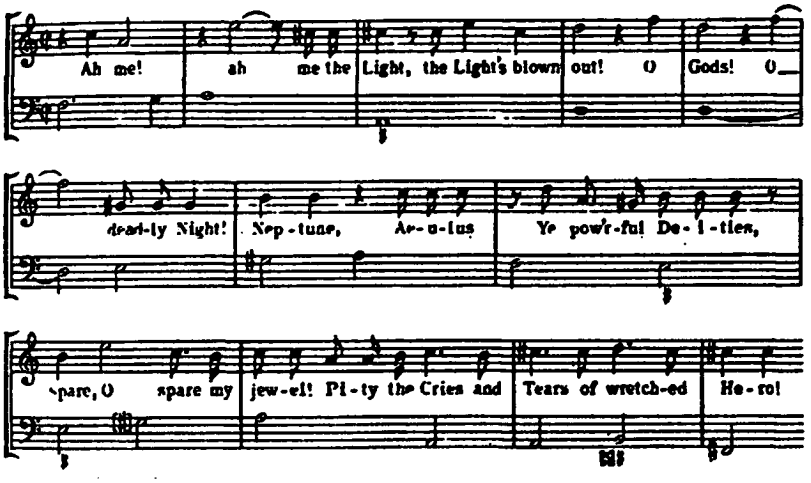
[88] Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera*, (London: Faber, 1983) 61.
[89] Davenant, "*Entertainment at Rutland House*," vol. 3, 194.
[90] Davenant, "*The Playhouse to be Let*," vol. 4, 49.
[91] The only known exception is "A Symerons' Dance" by Locke which was published in the 1678 edition of *Musick's Handmaid: New Lessons and Instructions for the Virginals*. See White, *Register* 11.
[92] Davenant, "*Entertainment at Rutland House*," vol. 3, 197.

(1558-1666).[93] As mentioned in Chapter Two, Roger North described the work and its composer as:

> the first of the *recitativo* kind that ever graced the English language, and hath bin little followed, till the later attempts in our theaters.[94]

Elements of Italian *stylo recitativo* characterise Lanier's work, most notably in the syllabic setting and narrow range:



Ex. 24. Nicholas Lanier. *Hero and Leander.*[95]

In the absence of other musical evidence, North's statement and Lanier's monologue become even more valuable.

Yet North's statement raises some uncertainties – it is unclear when these "later attempts" began.[96] North could just as easily been referring to Restoration works such as *Venus and Adonis* (1682/83) by John Blow (1649-1708), *Psyche* (1675) with music by Locke and text by Thomas Shadwell (1640-92), or the operas and semi-operas of Purcell, as to the Commonwealth productions "sung in

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[93] The composers for *The First Dayes Entertainment* were Charles Coleman (d.1664), Henry Cooke (*c.*1615-72), George Hudson (d.1672) and Henry Lawes.

[94] Roger North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, 1728, ed. Hilda Andrews, (London: Oxford UP, 1925) 19.

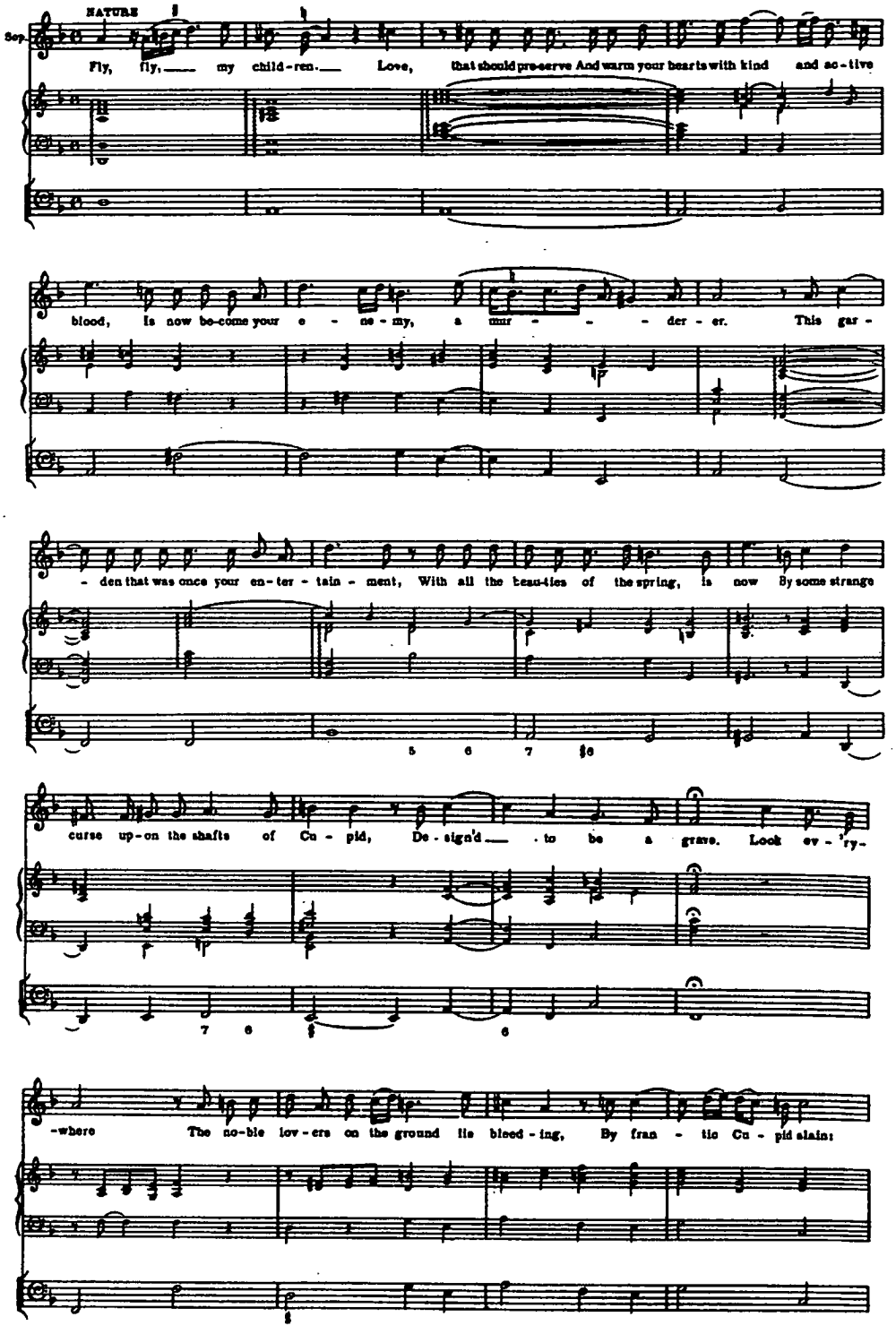
[95] Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era: From Monteverdi to Bach*, (London: Dent, 1948) 183.

[96] For a critique of North's reliability as a source see Chapter Two, pp.91-92.

Recitative Musick."[97] An examination of the music for the 1650s masque *Cupid and Death* quickly reveals a declamatory style significantly different from Italianate recitative – one that placed a greater emphasis on melody and seemed to work in harmony with the English language. The composer has placed the English air within the structure of recitative. The result is a vocal line that displays melodic interest, a process assisted by the occasional use of melisma and the utilisation of a near octave range, whilst simultaneously effectively conveying the declamatory material. The work is also rich harmonically. Although the employed tonalities are closely related – d minor, D major, a minor and F major – the harmonic language they have to offer is well used. For instance, at the start of the second system the chromatic progression from C-sharp to C-natural adds colour whilst subtly pre-empting the transition into the dominant minor. The extended cadence in a minor – V, i64, i, V, i – further enhances the effect, as does the dotted rhythm melisma of the vocal line above this progression.[98]

[97] It is unknown who wrote the libretto for *Venus and Adonis*; Davenant, "*The Siege of Rhodes*," vol. 3, 232.

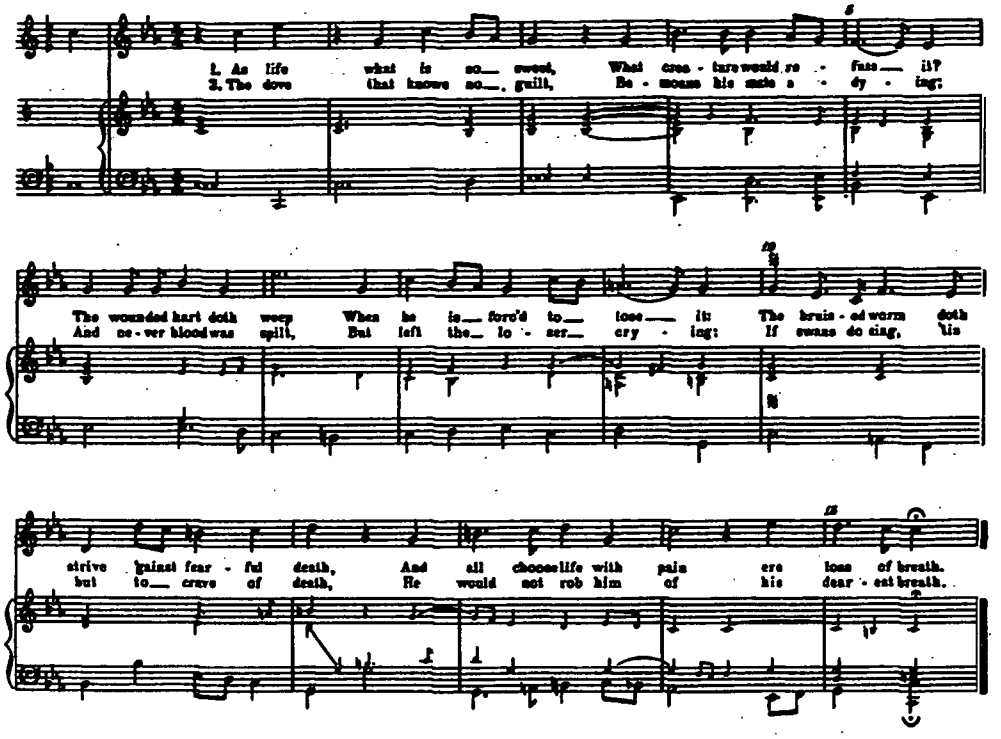
[98] The setting of the word "murderer" against this tonal backdrop displays madrigalian influence.



Ex. 25. Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons. "Fly, fly my children" from *Cupid and Death.*[99]

[99] Locke and Gibbons, *Cupid and Death*, ed. Edward J. Dent, *Musica Britannica* 2, 33-34. See also the examples on pp.218-23.

Other secular vocal music from around this period demonstrates a similar style:



Ex. 26. William Webb. "As Life what is so Sweet."[100]

Whilst the precise musical style of works such as Davenant's *The First Dayes Entertainment* or *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* is hazy, the fact that such works were performed at all during the Interregnum goes strongly against the idea that the period was a universally dark time for English theatre. Circumstances may have altered but stage productions, albeit altered and lesser in number, continued nonetheless.

It would appear that even to those of the time such liberality was something of a surprise. The famous diarist John Evelyn wrote that:

[100] William Webb, "As Life what is so Sweet," *English Songs 1625-1660*, ed. Ian Spink, *Musica Britannica* 33, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971) 141.

> I went to visite my Bro, & next day to see a new *Opera* after the *Italian* way in *Recitative Music & Sceanes*, much inferior to the Italian composure & magnificence: but what was prodigious, that in a time of such a publique Consternation, such a Vanity should be kept up or permitted; I being ingag'd with company, could not decently resist the going to see it, though my heart smote me for it: I returned home.[101]

Others were also seemingly aware of what was happening and the ways in which the 1642 ordinance was being circumvented. The performance of drolls during this period was simply explained:

> [w]hen the publique Theatres were shut up, and the Actors forbidden to present us with any of their Tragedies, because we had enough of that in earnest; and Comedies, because the Vices of the Age were too lively and smartly represented; then all that we could divert our selves with were these humours and pieces of Plays.[102]

Similarly, John Dryden revealed that:

> [f]or Heroick Plays, ... the first Light we had of them on the *English* Theatre, was from the late Sir *William D'Avenant*: It being forbidden him in the Rebellious Times to Act Tragedies and Comedies ... he was forc'd to turn his thoughts another way: and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and perform'd in Recitative Musique.[103]

Even in this supposed theatrical desert it seemed dramatic roses still bloomed.

Regardless of the exact musical style, it was clearly evident that music was a help rather than a hindrance to the staging of Commonwealth theatre. It provided a means through which a work could be classified as something other than a play and so avoid the restrictions of the 1642 ordinance. In *The First Dayes Entertainment* Davenant even went so far as to include a debate on the merits of "Public Entertainment by Morall Representations."[104] The successful

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[101] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer, (London: OUP, 1959) 397.
[102] Mary Chan, "Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth Century Dramatic Music in England." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 15 (1979) 117 from Marsh and Kirkman, *The Wits*, 2 vols, 1662-73, vol 2, preface.
[103] John Dryden, "*The Conquest of Granada*," *The Works of John Dryden: Plays, The Conquest of Granada, Marriage a-la-mode, The Assignation*, 19 vols., 1956-79, vol. 11, (Berkeley: U of California P, 1978) 9.
[104] Davenant, "*Entertainment at Rutland House*," vol. 3, 199-213.

use of music to navigate these restrictions, and that such deviation was allowed by the authorities, significantly challenges the traditional historiography of the period. It becomes more and more apparent that the true nature of English theatre and theatre music during the 1640s and 1650s, or as close to the truth as it is possible to obtain three and a half centuries later, has been repeatedly misunderstood. Rather than a desolate artistic environment in which all forms of theatre were unequivocally banned, the years of the English Commonwealth instead produced an altered situation in which the stage was restricted but enough viable loopholes existed to ensure its continuance. Smaller productions, such as drolls, could be presented, their size ensuring they were either unnoticed or ignored by the authorities. Venues could serve as a valuable means of circumvention. It was no coincidence that many works of this period were staged in schools or private houses, places where such presentations were less likely to be disturbed.[105] Yet for larger productions such as those by Davenant, music proved to be the most favoured method of getting around the 1642 ordinance. It ensured that by creating an "opera" or similar genre, no stage-play was being presented and no law was being broken. Songs and dances had always been part of the theatre but they now took on an extra-musical significance that went well beyond characterisation and interludes.

Were the Commonwealth regime so resolutely against the theatre and wholeheartedly fearful of incurring the Wrath of God, there can be little doubt that these legislative gaps would have been closed with undue haste. If a complete and total ban was truly desired and theatre music was really so despised, why

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[105] See White, *Register* 10-11.

limit the 1642 ordinance only to stage-plays? The answers lay within the document itself. The content of the "Order for Stage-plays to cease" strongly points to the beginnings of a young regime, at that stage still very much at war, desperate to maintain social order in a time of political crisis. When this need abated the ban remained in place, to be called upon if necessary, but mainly as a means of monitoring a potentially powerful form of media. Understandably then, the early and mid 1640s were not a time for extensive theatrical experimentation – it was not until the first and most far reaching group of conflicts were over that Interregnum theatre could properly establish itself. Despite its turmoils, the mid seventeenth century did provide English audiences with a form a theatre, albeit an adapted form, that was to provide a sizeable quantity of public enjoyment throughout much of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Music was a major part of this process and, in its employment as a fundamental element with which the 1642 ordinance could be transgressed, significantly contributed to the theatre and wider artistic environment of the period. The years of the Civil War and Interregnum were not a universally bleak time for the English stage. They were instead a period in which some of the rules changed but where, despite the political environment, the human desire to create and consume entertainment remained unaltered.

Chapter Five
"Fiddling at Home:"
Domestic and Institutional Music, *c.*1640 to *c.*1660

Music in the domestic setting is, by its very nature, difficult to quantify. On one level it is clouded by its very existence within the private setting, concealed from much of the outside world by its cultivation in household surrounds and the decisive lack of publicity this invariably encourages. Furthermore, the music of the domestic sphere is almost completely hidden by its essential function – entertainment for generally small groups of listeners and performers in intimate surroundings. This was not a repertoire that attracted large crowds, was extensively promoted by the mid-seventeenth-century press, or led to extensive reviews and repeat performances. Nevertheless, it was music with both a place and a purpose. In a time of extensive political conflict, home life continued to be important, perhaps even more so as men and women were forced to reassess their beliefs, allegiances and the harsh world around them. Music, then as now, served as a means of dealing with such pressure, providing comfort, company and a sense of belonging. By forming consorts and other ensembles, individuals could attempt to forget the power struggles of their age, the nature of the new regime, or the conflict that had led to the English republic. Music in the domestic sphere may have been hidden but it was by no means obscure.

In comparison with other genres of mid-seventeenth-century England, domestic music has generally received the most favourable perception. This has been the area in which writers have aimed to refute, or at the very least counterbalance, the idea that the Interregnum was a universally bleak period in English musical history. Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, for whom the

seventeenth century was "musically almost a blank" nevertheless admitted that that for domestic music:

> [t]o judge by the amount ... published during the Commonwealth the country would seem to have been bubbling with it.[1]

Even the erstwhile Burney, so condemning of much that the period had to offer, was prepared to concede that music:

> seems to have been more zealously cultivated, in private, during the usurpation, if we may judge by the number of publications, than in the same number of years, at any former period.[2]

Yet this is not to suppose for a moment that this aspect of Civil War and Interregnum music has completely escaped the binds of historiography. On the contrary, the same forces that have governed the perception of mid-seventeenth-century English music as a whole have in many respects shaped the reception of domestic music. The severe image of Puritanism, the placement of the period outside the dominant evolutionary construct, and its lack of "great composers," have permeated all aspects of the period, regardless of how individual genres or areas of musical activity have been comparatively received.

The difference between the historiographical perception of domestic music during the Civil War and Interregnum, as opposed to the traditionally negative evaluation given to sacred and theatre music of the same period, lay within the construction of mid-seventeenth-century English music as a whole. Music within the domestic sphere may be the most positively considered within the period, but beyond this it must still contend with the historiography, and the effects of these portrayals, that almost invariably accompany the 1640s and 1650s. Hidden on

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[1] C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Music of the Seventeenth Century. The Oxford History of Music.* vol. 3, 1902, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford UP, 1938) 207-208.
[2] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, (London: Foulis, 1935) 321.

one level by its placement in the domestic sphere, this repertoire has also been concealed by musicological construct. For the most part, music history has tended to favour bigger, more public displays of musical expression. The great works of Western art music have generally been large-scale compositions with several components – the symphonies of Beethoven, the operas of Wagner, and the programmatic tone poems of composers such as Liszt, Richard Strauss and Debussy. The historiographical perceptions of the Civil War and Interregnum period, in combination with the musicological evaluation of music history, have been shaped by this dearth of sizeable works and lack of great composers. In both regards the music of mid-seventeenth-century England fails to deliver. For the domestic repertoire the result is musicological isolation imposed from two angles – the music is submerged on account of its performance environment and the small-scale works that characterise the genre. Within the confines of specific study Commonwealth domestic music is generally well favoured. As part of a wider musicological construction the repertoire remains obscure.

Yet this broader reception, or rather the lack thereof, does not alter the firm admissions of Burney, Parry and others that music was cultivated in private during the 1640s and 1650s. The origins of these sentiments primarily derive from the writings of Roger North. Born into one of England's most eminent noble families, North was a prolific author, his output including *The Musicall Gramarian* (1728), his *Memoires of Musick* (1728) and numerous essays.[3] In writing of the Commonwealth period North explained that:

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[3] *The Musicall Gramarian*, 1728, ed. Hilda Andrews, (London: Oxford UP, 1925); *Memoires of Musick*, 1728, ed. Edward F. Rimbault, (London: George Bell, 1846). For a collection of North's writings see *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection of his Essays written during the years c.1695-1728*, ed. John Wilson, (London: Novello, 1959).

> during ye troubles, & when most other good arts languished musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in ye cant of those times) profane theaters, but In private society, for many chose rather to fidle at home, then [*sic.*] to goe out, & be knockt on ye head abroad, ... and in this state was musick dayly Improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects But musick) the happy restauration.[4]

With its explicit referral to musical activity in the home setting, this oft-repeated quote has had a significant impact on the historiography of mid-seventeenth-century English music as a whole.[5] What was essentially provided was a positive account of a period generally considered to have been overwhelmingly bleak. For British musical nationalism this was a valuable finding – even during the most seemingly desolate time of Albion's cultural history, music soldiered on. Such perseverance was undoubtedly testimony to the greatness of a nation and the permanence of music, the art that "held up her head" rather than languish during the troubles. It seemed that the frequent repetition of North's statement was both well justified and well deserved.

Interestingly, this was counterbalanced by North's not-so-positive referral to a far more glorious age of English history "the time of (in all other respects But musick) the happy restauration."[6] Nor was this an isolated sentiment. A far less commonly seen excerpt, but one that nevertheless provided an equally valuable account as to the state of music during the Civil War and Interregnum, can be found in the *Memoires of Musick.* In it North reveals that:

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[4] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 18-19.
[5] See Chapter Two, pp.91-93.
[6] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 18-19.

> when the troubles came forward, and the whole Society of the Masters in London were turned adrift, some went into the armyes, others dispersed in the countrys and made musick for the consolation of the cavalier gentlemen. And that gave occasion to divers families to entertein the skill and practice of musick, and to encourage the masters to the great increase of compositions. And this good humour lasted some time after the happy Restauration, and then decayed.[7]

Musically North was lamenting the:

> [n]ew rise from the Restauration of K. Cha. 2. He had lived some considerable time abroad, where the french [*sic.*] musick was in request, w^{ch} consisted of an entry (perhaps) and then Brawles [branles], as they were called, that is motive aires and Dances; And it was & is yet a mode among ye Monseurs, allwais to act ye musick, w^{ch} habit the King had got and never in his life could endure any that he could not act by keeping the time, w^{ch} made the common andante or els the step tripla ye onely musicall styles at court in his time. And after ye manner of france [*sic.*], he set up a band of 24 violins to play at his dinners, w^{ch} disbanded all the old English musick at once.[8]

From a historiographical perspective however such sentiments challenged the perceived musical supremacy of the Restoration over the Commonwealth and, less obviously, indirectly questioned the musical allegiances of Henry Purcell.

If the coming of Charles II, and also Purcell, meant the end of the "old English musick" and an environment in which "french musick was in request," then the portrayal of the later seventeenth century as a glorious age of English music risks appearing less convincing.[9] Not surprisingly, the vast majority of writers have tended to repeat a select portion of North's writings without probing further, neither into the domestic music he so clearly described or the content of his other writings.[10] This has most likely not been a conscious decision but rather

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[7] North, *Memoires of Musick* 80-81.
[8] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 27.
[9] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 27.
[10] For examples see Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era: From Monteverdi to Bach*, (London: Dent, 1948) 190; Peter Holman, "London: Commonwealth and Restoration," *The Early Baroque Era: From the late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price, Man & Music, (London: Macmillan, 1993) 308-309; Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations*, (London: Oxford UP, 1934) 187.

the result of general assumption – that the Civil War and Interregnum was a dark and dismal time for English music whilst the Restoration was a far more enlightened and unrestricted age. Although it has been generally conceded that domestic music was extensively cultivated during the Commonwealth, the image of the period as a whole has, for many, generally precluded any need to examine further.

Regardless of their historiographical treatment, the writings of North revealed that music was, at least in some circles, very much part of domestic life during the 1640s and 1650s. When used in conjunction with other primary sources – amongst them manuscripts, publications and reports of organised music gatherings – such information becomes even more valuable. For instance, the works of the antiquarian Anthony Wood provide a relatively detailed account of Oxford music meetings. The diaries, memoirs and letters of various individuals sometimes contain references to music and collections of music manuscripts can greatly assist in determining favoured repertoire, musical patrons and important locations. Publications, whether textual or musical, were prolific during this period, and provide a valuable insight into contemporary opinions and consumer demand. Although it would be erroneous to suppose that any or all of these sources were faultless, it cannot be escaped that they provide information that would otherwise be non-existent. As with any document, the material must be treated with a healthy degree of scepticism and a large dose of analysis. Yet even allowing for this, it becomes increasingly apparent that, at a time of war and political uncertainty, a significant proportion of the English population did indeed choose to "fidle at home."

Domestic music may have existed during this time but its intricacies, and the effect of the Civil War and Interregnum upon them, were far from universal. As has been consistently seen throughout the preceding chapters, the impact of the 1640s and 1650s produced a variety of results ranging from the dismal to the advantageous. For those in the Chapel Royal, King's Musick and Royal Trumpeters war meant the eventual disbandment of the royal musical establishment and resultant unemployment for its members. To others it presented the opportunity to make a bad situation good, or to seek out a new found freedom from the forces that had hitherto dominated English musical life. With the end of royal patents and monopolies, the publishing industry was opened to the advantages of competition. In a similar fashion, the dissolution of the royal court destroyed this institution's domination of the English music scene. Its disintegration also brought about an end to the nepotism and pluralism that had all too frequently characterised the royal musical establishment, providing greater opportunities for others to seek musical employment in the changed labour market. At a time of civil war and Republican rule what therefore existed, as in other areas of musical endeavour during this period, was an intricate combination of results influenced by time, location, circumstance and not least by the individuals involved.

Yet nothing can avoid the fact that, in some respects, the outbreak of war and arrival of the Commonwealth were far from favourable. The demise of the royal musical establishment brought with it the end of a premier environment for musical study, composition, performance, innovation and dissemination.[11]

[11] As households travelled, such as on royal progresses or journeys to London for "the season," music could be copied, exchanged and compared. The connections between the royal musical

Needless to say, the situation for many of those involved declined rapidly after the early 1640s. In 1646 Nicholas Lanier lamented to his friend Constantijn Huygens that he was:

> old, unhappey, and in a manner of exile, having been disposed of his music scores, nay, almost of his wits and vertue.[12]

Charles Coleman, Thomas Ford (d.1648), Henry Lawes, Richard Mico (*c.*1590-1661) and Walter Porter (*c.*1587/*c.*1595-1659) were amongst the many royal musicians who lost their jobs, forced to earn their living teaching, employed in households, or in a non-musical field. Another court musician, William Lawes, swapped his musical duties for military ones and enlisted in the Royalist army. It did not prove a wise career choice however, and the younger Lawes was killed in action in 1645. For the newly unemployed members of the King's Musick, Chapel Royal, Royal Trumpeters and other royal musical ensembles, the outbreak of Civil War brought both political and economic uncertainty. It was a situation they shared with the English population as a whole, and one that required varying degrees of adaptability to the changing world around them.

Sad as the personal predicaments of court musicians must have been, it must be remembered that their laments were inevitably tinged with comparisons to the employment conditions they had enjoyed before the Civil War. For Lanier in particular, the end of the royal court, in which he had held a privileged position, must have been severe. Very few scenarios were likely to compare favourably with the status he had once enjoyed. In addition to his musical posts as lutenist and Master of the King's Musick, Lanier also moved within another artistic circle

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establishment and those of the aristocracy and nobility provided an effective means through which music could be spread throughout England. See Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

[12] Quoted in Holman 306.

at the royal court – the one of painting, sculpture and other visual art. Himself a competent painter, Lanier was able to combine his musical talents with his ability as an artist and art connoisseur. Such diversity of talent was well rewarded – Lanier was sent on several trips to Italy at royal expense to view and purchase artwork for the King.[13] As North put it:

> K. Cha. I. had a very Ingenious vertuoso, one Nicholas Laniere, whom he Imployed Into Itally to buy capitall pictures; M[r] Laniere was no less a vertuoso at musick then [sic.] picture, for w[ch] the K. greatly esteemed him.[14]

On 11[th] July 1626 he was made Master of the King's Musick, the first to hold this position and one that bestowed power, status and a salary of around £200 per annum.[15] Overall, given his position in the Caroline court it was hardly surprising that Lanier, in a state of exile in the Netherlands, should have considered himself to be "unhappey."

It would be wrong to suppose that the royal court was an entity that suddenly disappeared with the relocation of Charles and the royal family from London to Hampton Court. The royal musical establishment was not a permanent fixture incapable of transferability, but rather a group of individuals whose job descriptions generally required them to travel. Nor was this a new phenomenon – throughout the long history of the royal court, substantial numbers of the entourage, including musicians, had journeyed with their monarch.[16] These

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[13] See Ian Spink, "Lanier in Italy," *Music & Letters* 40 (1959): 242-52.
[14] North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, 19.
[15] Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols, (Snodland, Kent: Andrew Ashbee, 1986-96), vol. 3, 19.
[16] See Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music: Volume III (1625-1649)*, 9 vols, 1986-96, (Snodland, Kent: Andrew Ashbee, 1988); Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed. *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460-1700)*. Rpt. 1909. London: Novello, 1973); and Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, eds. *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal: With Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*. 2 vols. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

traditions, combined with evidence to suggest the presence of music at the Oxford court almost a year later, imply that some semblance of royal musical activity continued in the months between the King's departure from London and his arrival in Oxford. Unfortunately, evidence to support this is scant at best and at worst non-existent – court records generally peter out around 1642 and contemporary diaries and other sources reveal little. What can, through conjecture, be said with fair certainty was that the number of musicians who might have accompanied Charles on his journey to York, then Nottingham and finally Oxford, was unlikely to have been particularly high. With the wages of many already in arrears, in the face of uncertain times and with at least some musicians no doubt having familial obligations, the general response was probably not overly enthusiastic. Loyalty to the Crown was important, but for the most part it was practicality that prevailed.

That said, the expedition was not completely devoid of music. A few in the establishment did follow Charles north, although given the state of Crown finances and budget priorities they probably received limited monetary reward for their travels. Court records reveal a few individuals being sworn in as late as 1643 and early 1644. Despite the Royalist defeat at the battle of Edgehill and the mobilisation of the nation, the wording very much portrays a feeling of "business as usual:"

> [25th November 1643] Warrant to swear Mr. William Howes a gentleman of his Majesty's Chappell Royall in ordinary, in the place of Mr. West, deceased, and to enjoy all wages, fees, allowances and profits thereto belonging. [12th January 1644] Warrant to swear Mr. Francis Hull a gentleman of his Majesty's Chappell Royall in ordinary, in the place

> become void by the death of Beck, to enjoy the full entertainment, fees and profitts to the place belonging.[17]

Significantly, many of the records for 1642 pertain to trumpeters, whose ceremonial role, military association and portable instruments would have been a valued part of the war effort.[18] Regardless of the exact number of court musicians associated with the Royalist army, the services they provided were undoubtedly part of a much larger fabric.

The royal entourage of 1642 was by no means a stagnant pool of individuals whose objectives remained unaltered or whose company was impenetrable form the outside. Indeed one of the key objectives of the King's journey, aside from reaching York, was to substantially increase the size of his army. Nor was his endeavour unsuccessful. By the time of the Battle of Edgehill in October 1642 the Royalist forces numbered around 20 000.[19] Of the many who enlisted, whether around this time or later, some at least must have been musicians. Whilst only a small percentage of these were likely to have been musically literate or formally trained, there must also have been a much larger proportion of self-taught amateurs capable of filling any musical void. Much of the success of John Playford's *English Dancing Master* of almost a decade later was that it contained numerous familiar melodies, some of which would almost certainly have been heard during the conflict. If its title was anything to go by, the anonymous "Prince Rupert's March," its namesake a nephew of Charles I and Royalist cavalry general, was very much a wartime piece:

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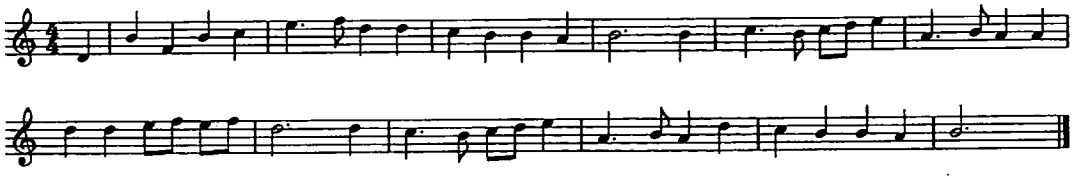
[17] de Lafontaine 112-13.
[18] de Lafontaine 112; Ashbee 115-17.
[19] Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776*, (London: BBC, 2001) 132.



Ex. 27. Anon. "Prince Rupert's March."[20]

The existence of such repertoire and the strong likelihood of at least some musicians finding their way into the army meant that music, in some form or another, continued in spite of the conflict. Combined with more formal ensembles such as military fife and drum bands and the remnants of the King's establishment, musical activity was well assured.[21]

Fortunately the situation becomes clearer following the Battle of Edgehill and the arrival of the King and Royalist army in Oxford in late 1642. The royal gathering in Oxford is particularly interesting on account of its status as a wartime court and its relative permanency, over three-and-a-half years, as a Royalist base. However, this first consideration has done little to assist the modern researcher. With attentions directed almost exclusively towards war, very few written sources from Civil War Oxford mention music, a paucity made worse by the widespread destruction of Royalist papers on the surrender of Oxford in June 1646.[22] Yet there is some evidence, both written and musical, to suggest that at least some music was associated with the wartime court. Anthony Wood, a prominent

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[20] Adapted from John Playford, *The English Dancing Master*, 1651, fac. ed., ed. Margaret Dean-Smith, (London: Schott, 1957) 49. For a recording see *Music for Roundheads and Cavaliers*, St. George's Canzona, dir. John Sothcott, Quicksilva, 1994, track 12.

[21] For information on the fife and drum bands of this period see H.G. Farmer, "Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century Military Marches," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 28 (1950) 39-52.

[22] Jonathan P. Wainwright, "Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford," *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 123, 121.

Oxford writer and antiquarian, revealed that:

> Georg Jeffryes [was] steward to the lord Hatton of Kirbie in Northamptonshire and organist to K. Ch. I at Oxon.[23]

Given the general academic devotion of Wood and the extent and quality of his work, there seems little reason to doubt the reliability of this source.

At any rate, his was not the only piece of evidence to suggest that musicians were present at the Oxford court or that Jeffreys may have been amongst them. Hawkins, in spite of his frequently negative accounts of the period, also wrote of music at Oxford:

> whither the King had retired; there went with him thither, Dr. Wilson, one of the gentlemen of his Chapel, and he had an organist with him named George Jeffries; these and a few others, with the assistance of the University people, made a stand against the persecution of the times; choral services were performed there after a very homely fashion, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music were sometimes had in the rooms of Gentlemen of the University for the entertainment of each other. But this lasted only to the surrender of the garrison in 1646, when the king was obliged to leave the place; however, the spirit that had been excited in favour of music during the residence there, and the continuance of Dr. Wilson in the University, who was professor, and a man of cheerful disposition, contributed to an association of Gentlemen of the University, with the musicians of the place, and these together established a weekly concert.[24]

From court records and the writings of Wood and Hawkins it seems almost certain that at least some aspects of the royal musical establishment continued well into the 1640s.

Much of the evidence to support this stems from music manuscripts rather than written sources. Having undertaken extensive studies of these manuscripts,

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[23] Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself: Collected from his Diaries and other Papers*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols., vol. 1: 1632-1663, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891) 274.

[24] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776, 2nd ed., 5 vols, 1853, rpt., (New York: Dover, 1963) 379-80.

Jonathan Wainwright has suggested that the musicians of Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-70) may well have supplemented the court musicians in the Oxford establishments of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.[25] There are good reasons to support his claim. The loyalty of Christopher Hatton to the King was clear from the outset of the Civil War. Already woefully in debt, Hatton plunged himself into the Royalist cause, supporting it financially and relocating to Oxford to be with Charles. Such devotion was well rewarded – 1643 witnessed his declaration as Baron Hatton of Kirby, and his appointment as a privy councillor and Comptroller of the King's Household. Musically however, Hatton's greatest influence lay in his employees, and in particular the composers and copyists John Lilly (1612-78), George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing (1610-81). An examination of the Hatton music collection, and especially the copies most likely to have been available at the Oxford court, quickly reveals the nature of this repertoire, the performance environment in which it may have been performed, and the musical resources available to the Oxford royal court.

Much of the Hatton collection however was not English but Italian, reflecting the enthusiasm of many in the nobility for music originating south of the Alps. What was particularly relevant from a practical viewpoint was:

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[25] Wainwright 126. See also Wainwright, "The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford, Music Manuscripts 2, 397-408 and 436; 417-418 and 1080; and 432 and 612-613," *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 189-241; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*, (Aldershot: Scholar, 1997); John Aplin, "Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of Early Seventeenth-Century Part-Books at Christ Church, Oxford," *Music & Letters* 57 (1976): 11-24; Sarah Boyer and Jonathan Wainwright, "From Barnard to Purcell: The Copying Activities of Stephen Bing," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 620-48; David Pinto, "The Music of the Hattons," *Research Chronicle* 23 (1990): 79-108; and Andrew Ashbee, "The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts," *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 243-70.

> the preponderance of small-scale pieces – both sacred and secular. This varied repertoire could be performed with only a handful of singers and a continuo player – perhaps all that was available at the wartime court – and the most up-to-date Italian pieces would be most suitable for the educated tastes of noblemen (and a welcome distraction from the worries of war).[26]

Given that the subject of the Hatton music collection has been extensively covered, there seems little need to repeat these findings here. The main consideration in assessing the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English music was that such music was accessible and presumably performed and that some elements of the royal musical establishment, probably supplemented by Hatton's musicians, continued in spite of the conflict. Yet care must be taken:

> [t]here is an implausible ring to the notion that a garrison city, in which all the inhabitants were liable for exacted labour in maintaining urban fortifications and complementing military readiness, could have been a flourishing centre for innovation in the arts.[27]

Some level of music making must have existed but knowledge is scant and:

> [b]ehind the Hattons stands a more shadowy group of copyists, players and contributory collectors.[28]

For the musical component of the Oxford royal court their activities, at least in this capacity, came to an end with surrender to Parliamentary forces in 1646. Until the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 royal music was, at least in England, essentially suspended.

Whilst those for whom it had been resoundingly beneficial no doubt mourned the demise of the royal establishment, for others its disintegration brought opportunities that otherwise would not have existed. The closed nature of musical employment within the royal court had not been the only obstacle for musicians attempting to earn a living from their profession. Particularly in

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[26] Wainwright, "Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford" 127.
[27] Pinto 98.
[28] Pinto 92.

London, court musicians had wielded tremendous power over a wide variety of musical activities. In 1635 this dominance increased further when it was decreed that:

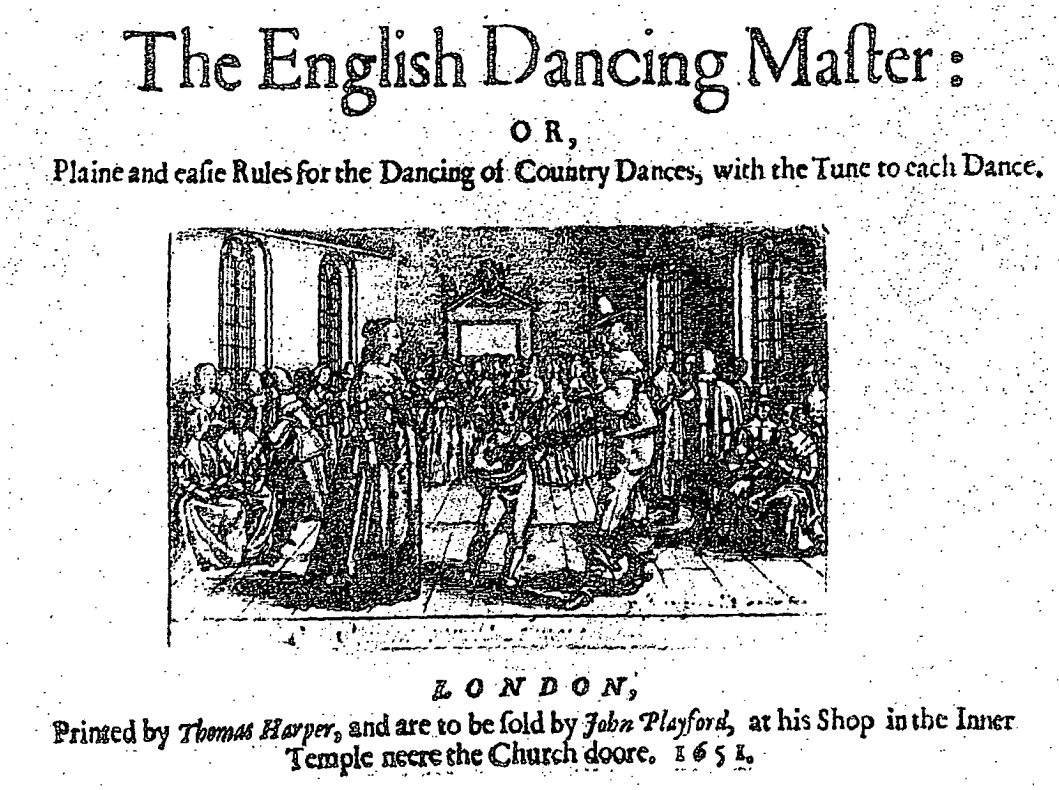
> [a] graunt whereby his Ma^{ty} doeth renew to the Musicōns their antient Charter made by King Edward the 4th and incorporateth them and all other his Ma^{ts} Musitians in tyme to come by the name of marshall, wardens and Coīalty of the arte and science of musicke in Westm^{r}: in the County of Midđs, giving them power to make ordinances and elect officers, and to have scrutiny and governem^{t} over all others using that art in England (Chester only excepted).[29]

With the outbreak of civil war and the end of this monopolisation came a more liberal environment in which musicians could practice their trade and the emergence of new or adapted opportunities for musical performance and consumption. Although the 1640s and 1650s undoubtedly brought despair and hardship for a number of musicians, the overall impact was not entirely bleak.

In some areas the demise of the court was close to being universally positive. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the field of music publishing where the beginning of war meant the end of the royal monopolies and restrictions that had hitherto stifled the industry. It was no accident that the 1640s and 1650s witnessed the emergence of independent publishers such as John Playford (1623-86/87) and George Thomason (d.1666) and the beginnings of an environment in which commercial advantage was more dependent on satisfying consumer demand than on successfully campaigning for music patents. The entrepreneurial rise of John Playford is particularly noteworthy. After completing his apprenticeship in 1647 he quickly established his business, producing his first

[29] Ashbee 84.

known musical publication, *The English Dancing Master, or Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance* in 1651:


The English Dancing Maſter:

OR,

Plaine and eaſie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance.

LONDON,

Printed by *Thomas Harper*, and are to be ſold by *John Playford*, at his Shop in the Inner Temple neere the Church doore. 1651.

Fig. 7. John Playford. *The English Dancing Master, or Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance.* Title Page.[30]

The ensuing years saw his output expand significantly with titles such as *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues* (1652), A *Breefe Introduction of the Skill of Musick* (1654) and *Matthew Locke: His Little Consort* (1656).[31]

A sizeable proportion of Playford's success derived form the adept marketing and skilful re-packaging of his publications. For instance, *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* was re-released in 1655 "having as pt ii T.

[30] Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, "Playford," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001, 911.

[31] For a comprehensive list of Playford's publications see Dean-Smith and Temperley 913.

Campion's Art of Composing with addns by C. Simpson" only to reappear two years later in a new version that omitted Campion but included "Directions for Playing the Viol de Gambo and Tr Vn."[32] Yet Playford's success could not have been possible without the presence of demand. As discussed later in the chapter, the years of the Civil War and Interregnum witnessed a significant increase in the number of semi-public music gatherings, usually featuring an admission fee to assist economically at a time when musical employment opportunities were frequently limited.[33] These meetings need repertoire. To be sure, the presence of manuscripts would have assisted greatly, but such documents did not avail themselves to wide and sudden distribution.[34] In contrast printed material could be produced and utilised far more rapidly.

The volume of music published by Playford and his contemporaries becomes easier to appreciate on consideration and comparison of the industry in the earlier and later seventeenth century. As mentioned earlier, the demise of the monarchy brought with it the cessation of royal patents and monopolies and contributed strongly towards the development of a more open market. Yet the expansion of English music publishing in the mid seventeenth century, and by association the success of John Playford, was also the result of a new approach to repertoire. This was characterised by:

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[32] See Dean-Smith and Temperley 913.

[33] See pp.271-73 and 260-64.

[34] For information on such manuscripts see Mary Chan, "A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing," *The Well-Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of F.W. Sternfeld*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990), 231-44; and Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright. *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol 1, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

> [t]he beginning of the practice and publication of music for all and sundry – for the tavern, the home, the musical club, the theatre and anywhere else; and it was not confined to any type or class of music – vocal or instrumental – secular or sacred – for the professional or the amateur.[35]

This brought about a substantial increase from the earlier seventeenth century, a time when the industry was also suffering from the decline of the madrigal. At the Restoration, music publication was again affected by royal patents and monopolies, but also continued the diversity of publication seen during the Commonwealth.[36] In the field of music printing and publication, the mid seventeenth century witnessed an increase in both quantity and diversity, a situation in start contrast to the period's traditional historiographical image.

What is ironic is that John Playford, the major publisher of the period, held strong Royalist sympathies. His career had in fact begun with the publishing of pro-Royalist material such as *The Perfect Narrative of the Tryal of the King*.[37] Such political sentiments did not go unnoticed. In November 1649 a warrant was issued for his arrest, although its actual outcome remains uncertain.[38] Furthermore, whilst most of Playford's publications were musical, they nevertheless contained a substantial percentage of written material in the form of prefaces, commentary and pedagogical advice. Although the potentially high level of risk to his commercial venture would not have made it a prudent business move, anti-Commonwealth statements could easily have been printed. Playford

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[35] Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: A Dictionary of Engravers, Printers, Publishers and Music Sellers, with a Historical Introduction*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 6. See also D.W. Krummel. *English Music Printing 1553-1700*, (London: Biographical Society, 1975).

[36] Examples include *Melothesia, or Certain General Rules for Playing upon an Continued-Bass* (1673) by Matthew Locke, *Musick's Monument* (1676) by Thomas Mace, and Purcell's *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1696).

[37] This was reprinted at the Restoration under the title *England's Black King*.

[38] Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley 911.

was generally content to limit his writings to topics more directly relevant to his publications, whilst still being astutely aware of the political environment he and his contemporaries occupied. In his address "To the Ingenious Reader" from *The English Dancing Master* Playford tread carefully, declaring that dancing was:

> [e]xcellent for Recreation, after more serious Studies, making the body active and strong, gracefull in deportment, and a quality very much beseeming a Gentleman. Yet all this should not have been an Incitement to me for Publication of this Worke (knowing these Times and the Nature of it do not agree,) But that there was a false and surrepticious Copy at the Printing Presse, which if it had been published, would have been a disparagement to the quality and the Professors thereof, and a hinderance to the Learner: Therefore for prevention of all which, having an excellent Copy by me, and the assistance of a knowing Friend; I have ventured to put forth this ensuing Worke.[39]

Not only was Playford a successful publisher and businessman, but he must also have been extremely conscious of the unique political circumstances around him. Having been a pro-Royalist publisher, such awareness was even more valuable.

Such an outpouring of printed material could not have survived in the absence of substantial consumer demand. That the Interregnum period was able to maintain such high volumes of music publication is in itself testimony to the extensive market for home music that must have existed during these years. In the absence of support from royal patents and the rise of commercial competition this becomes even more apparent. Yet it was not a demand that suddenly appeared with the cessation of the monarchy. To be sure, Commonwealth restrictions on some aspects of church and theatre music would probably have fed the private sphere, if only through the increased numbers of musicians seeking employment, but as a genre domestic music was firmly established well before the start of hostilities. Evidence abounds to suggest that it was a tradition with both a

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[39] Playford 2.

long history and a solid practical foundation. Writing of the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, Lady Anne Fanshawe (1625-80) revealed in her memoirs that her grandfather:

> was a great lover of Musick and kept many Gentlemen that were perfectly well qualified both in y^{t} and y^{e} Italian tounge.[40]

With a tradition of music in the houses of the nobility dating from well before the war, the continuation of this art during the Interregnum was well assured. The political situation may have been altered, but the need to "fidle at home" remained largely unchanged.

This emphasis on music, and indeed on foreign languages and artistic influences, can also be seen in the writings of Margaret, Duke of Newcastle and maid of honour to Henrietta Maria. In her memoirs she revealed that music, along with needlework, dancing and French, was a core component of a young lady's education.[41] The musical aspect can also be seen in a 1646 painting of the Clifford family, attributed to Jan van Belcamp (1610-53), that depicted the fifteen-year-old Lady Anne Clifford standing next to a lute. On the opposite panel Clifford is again portrayed, this time at the age of almost sixty and with a manuscript under her right hand that may possibly be music:

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[40] Anne Fanshawe, *Memoires of Lady Anne Fanshawe*, British Library, Add. MS41161, p.9.
[41] George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain who have been Celebrated for their writings or skill in the Learned Languages Arts and Sciences*, Oxford, 1752.

Fig. 8. Jan van Belcamp. *The Great Picture depicting Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery.*[42]

Even if these items were used only as artistic props, their very placement within the picture points to an easy recognisability and through this the prevalence of music within selected settings. For Fanshawe, Newcastle and Clifford music was probably a significant component of their daily lives.

Yet music was not a pursuit restricted solely to women. One of the most revealing accounts as to the place of music in seventeenth-century life comes from *The Complete Gentleman* (1622) by Henry Peacham (1578-1643?). In his chapter on music Peacham said:

> [t]he Physitians will tell you, that the exercise of Musicke is a great lengthener of life, by stirring and reuiuing of the Spirits, holding a secret sympathy with them; Besides the exercise of singing, openeth the breast and pipes; it is an enemy to melancholy and deiection of the mind, … Yea, a curer or some diseases: In *Apuglia*, in *Italy*, and thereabouts, it is most certaine, that those who are stung with the *Tarantula*, are cured onely by Musicke. … *Plato* calleth it, *A diuine and heavenly practice*, profitably for the seeking out of that which is good and honest. *Homer* saith, Musicians are worthy of Honour, and regard of the whole world; … *Aristotle* aurreth Musicke to be the onely disposer of the mind to Vertue and Goodnesse; wherefore he reckoneth it among those foure principall exercises, wherein

[42] Jan van Belcamp, "The Great Picture depicting Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery," *Princes and Peoples: France and the British Isles, 1620-1714* (A220), The Open University, http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/a220/greatpic.htm, 28th February 2003.

> he would haue childern instructed. Tullie saith, there consisteth in the practise of singing, and playing vpon Instruments, great knowledge, and the most excellent instruction of the mind: and for the effect it worketh in the mind, he termeth it, ... A lasting Treasure; which rectifieth and ordereth our manners, and allayeth the heate and furie of anger, &c. ... I desire no more in you then [*sic.*] to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withal, to play the same vpon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your selfe.[43]

With such extraordinary and valued qualities, it is little wonder that during the turbulences of the Civil War and Interregnum "when most other good arts languished musick held up her head."[44]

This continuance was also helped by the nature of the Civil War itself or, more specifically, by the grounds for allegiance and the ease with which they could be transferred. Unlike many conflicts, whether involving one or several nations, that fought in England during the mid seventeenth century was not built on ethnic, lingual, territorial or cultural disputes. This was not a struggle for succession, a rally of defence in the wake of foreign invasion, or hostility between two or more specific ethnic groups. For the most part, those involved in the English Civil War frequently wore no identifying uniforms, spoke the same language and found themselves fighting friends, family and neighbours.[45] Such common bonds meant that when the conflict was over, some aspects of pre-war English life could resume relatively quickly. To be sure, 1646 did not signify universal or lasting peace, nor did animosity suddenly disappear, but the commonalties amongst and between those on both sides assisted in returning the country to normalcy.

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[43] Henry Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman*, 1622, The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books published in Facsimilie, (New York: Da Capo, 1968) 97-100.
[44] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 18-19.
[45] See Chapter One, pp.27.

There can be little doubt that the success of Playford would have been possible without wider approval and acceptance. Yet the exact status of domestic music, at least on initial inspection, appears nebulous. On one hand the government restrictions on church and stage would imply that music, whatever its performance environment, was a repressed commodity. On the other, the quantities of music published by Playford, combined with the accounts of North and other writers severely challenged the idea that:

> the fanaticism of the times led many to think music an unchristian recreation.[46]

The diversity of mid-seventeenth-century attitudes towards music was most apparent in the large work by William Prynne, *Histriomastix: The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragœdie* (1633). Whilst its author was severely critical of a number of aspects of English cultural life, including music, some of the sentiments he espoused nevertheless shed substantial light on attitudes towards music amongst the wider Puritan community. Prynne had little time for the "effeminate, delicate, lust-provoking Musicke" of the stage or the "wanton and lewde trifling Songs" of the Church, but this did not necessarily mean that he was against all forms of music.[47] A strong Puritan, he was still willing to openly admit:

> [t]hat Musicke of itselfe is lawfull, usefull, and commendable; no man, no Christian dares denie, since the *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, and generally *all Christians, all Pagan Authors extant, doe with one consent averre it.*[48]

Some forms of music may have been repressed, but it was not a limitation that automatically extended into every genre and circumstance.

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[46] Hawkins 582.
[47] William Prynne, *Histriomastix: The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragœdie*, 1633, rpt., (New York: Garland, 1974) 273, 285.
[48] Prynne 274.

Simplistic as it may seem, the Commonwealth position on domestic music was very much dependent on the day of the week. In an ordinance of 26th June 1657 entitled "An Act for the better observation of the Lords Day" it was declared that:

> [e]very person Dauncing, or prophanely Singing or Playing upon Musical Instruments ... shall be deemed guilty of prophaning the Lords-Day.[49]

As was made obvious by the wording of this ordinance, such prohibition applied only to the Sabbath. For the remaining six days of the week secular music was generally unimpeded. In a similar fashion, another ordinance of 1657 referred to the specific rather than the general. On 9th June "An Act against vagrants and wandring, idle dissolute persons" ordered that:

> any person or persons commonly called Fidlers or Minstrels, shall at any time after the First day of July, be taken playing, fiddling and making musick in any Inn, Alehouse, or Tavern, or shall be taken proffering themselves, or desiring, or intreating any person or persons to hear them to play, or make musick in any the places aforesaid, that every such person and persons so taken, shall be adjudged, and are hereby adjudged and declared to be Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggers, and shall be proceeded against and punished as Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggers within the said Statute, any Law, Statute or Usage to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.[50]

If individuals wished to play instruments in a private residence on any day of the week other than Sunday, the authorities appear to have had little objection.

What the Commonwealth and Protectorate therefore provided was an environment reasonably tolerant of domestic music and, through this, supportive of a publishing industry regulated by the economic forces of supply and demand. Yet these factors alone are not enough to ascertain the impact of the 1640s and 1650s on English domestic music – they provide a framework rather than a

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[49] C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 3 vols., vol. 2, (Abingdon: Professional Books, 1982) 1163-1164.
[50] Firth and Rait 1098-99.

foundation, an environmental background rather than firm evidence of musical fauna. More specific evidence can be seen in the work of authors such as Roger North and Thomas Mace (?1612-1706?). In his *Memoirs of Musick* the former indicated that many "private families and societies" possessed:

> chests of violls, consisting of two trebles, two means, and two bases ... to fulfill the parts.[51]

In writing of his time as a student at Cambridge, Mace recollected that:

> [w]e had for our *Grave Musick*, *Fancies* of 3, 4, 5, and 6 *Parts* to the *Organ*; Interpos'd (now and then) with some *Pavins*, *Allmaines*, *Solemn, and Sweet Delightful Ayres*; all which were (as it were) so many *Pathettical Stories*, *Rhetorical, and Sublime Discourses*; *Subtil, and Accute Argumentations*; *so Suitable, and Agreeing to the Inward, Secret, and Intellectual Faculties of the Soul and Mind*; that to set Them forth according to their *True Praise, there are no Words Sufficient in Language.* ... And *These Things* were *Performed*, upon so many *Equal*, and *Truly-Sciz'd Viols*; and so *Exactly Strung*, *Tun'd*, and *Play'd upon*, as no one *Part* was any *Impediment* to the *Other*; but still (as the *Composition* required) by *Intervals*, each *Part Amplified*, and *Heightned the Other*; *The Organ Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All.*[52]

Despite the descriptive style that often characterises such sources, in terms of content, the accounts of North and Mace both seem plausible – that people did choose to "fidle at home" seems almost certain.

One of the most revealing insights into the domestic music of mid-seventeenth-century England can be seen in the writings of Anthony Wood. His referrals to the royal court at Oxford have already been mentioned, but his greatest value to posterity lay in his accounts of Oxford music meetings. Wood himself was very much a product of the university city. Born there in 1632, he graduated from Merton College with an M.A. in 1655, and throughout the 1650s continued his pursuit of music. In 1652 he recorded that:

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[51] North, *Memoires of Musick* 70.

[52] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 1676, fac. ed., 2 vols., (Paris: *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 1958-66), vol. 1, 234-35.

> I began to exercise a natural and unstaiable genie I had to musick. I played by road [rote], without any teacher, on the violin; and having an eare I could play any tune, but – you must conceive – not well.[53]

However in 1653, following lessons from the Oxford city musican Charles Griffith, Wood tuned his instrument in fifths rather than fourths.[54] From 1656 he:

> frequented the weekly meetings of musitians in the house of William Ellis, late organist of S. John's Coll., situat and being in a house opposite to that place whereon the Theater was built.[55]

Wood's later years, following the Restoration and demise of Oxford's music meetings, were characterised by reclusiveness and isolation. Much of his efforts during this time were devoted to producing a history of Oxford University, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691-92), a work that led to an accusation of libel from the Earl of Clarendon and Wood's expulsion from the university in 1693. He died two years later in the same house in which he had been born and was buried in the chapel of Merton College.[56]

While they continued, these weekly music meetings at the house of William Ellis were clearly an important aspect of Wood's lifestyle – were he to miss one "he could not enjoy himself all the week after."[57] Yet these gatherings were also part of a wider musical atmosphere. As the list compiled by Wood so clearly shows they were attended by many in the Oxford musical community:

> [t]he usual company that met and performed their parts were (1) John Cock, M.A., fellow of New Coll. By the authority of the Visitors. He afterwards become rector of Heyford-Wareyne near Bister: and marrying with one of the Woodwards of Woodstock, lived an uncomfortable life with her. (2) Johne Jones, M.A., fellow of the said College by the same

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[53] Wood 173.
[54] Wood 181-82.
[55] Wood 204. The theatre was the Sheldonian, built in 1664-68, making the residence of Ellis most likely where the New Bodleian Library is today.
[56] See Jack Westrup, "Wood, Anthony," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001.
[57] Wood 273.

> authority. (3) Georg Croke, M.A., of the same Coll., also by the same authority. He was afterwards drown'd, with Brome, sone of Brome Whorwood of Halton neare Oxon, in their passage from Hampshire to the Isle of Wight, 5 Sept. 1657. (4) John Friend, M.A., fellow also of the said house and by the same authority. He died in the country anno 1658. (5) Georg Stradling, M.A., fellow of Alls. Coll., and admirable lutinist, and much respected by Wilson the professor. (6) Ralph Sheldon, gent., a Roman Catholick of Steple-Barton in Oxfordshire, at this time living in Halywell neare Oxon, admired for his smooth and admirable way in playing on the viol. He died in the city of Westminster ... 165-, and was buried in the chancel of the church of S. Martin-in-the-fields. (7) Thomas Wren, a younger son of Matthew Wren bishop of Ely, a sojournour now in the house of Francis Bowman bookseller living in S. Marie's parish in Oxon. (8) Thomas Janes M.A. of Magd. Coll. would be among them, but seldome played. He had a weekly meeting in his chamber at the Coll., practiced much on the Theorbo lute, and Gervace Westcote being often with him as an instructor, A.W. would sometimes go to their meeting and play with them.[58]

In the absence of other sources, such information becomes even more valuable.

Complete as this list may seem, for Wood there was seemingly more work to be done. Recollecting in 1659, he enlarged it to include the following:

> (1) Charles Perot, M.A., fellow of Oriel Coll., a well bred gent. And a person of a sweet nature. (2) Christopher Harrison, M.A., fellow of Queen's Coll., a maggot-headed person and humourous. He was afterwards parson of Burgh under Staynsmore in Cumberland, where he died in the winter time anno 1694. (3) Kenelm Digby, fellow of Alls. Coll. He was afterwards LL. Dr.; and dying in the said Coll. On Munday night Nov. 5. anno 1688, was buried in the chappell there. He was a violinist .... (4) William Bull, Mr. Of Arts, bach. Of Pysic, and fellow of Alls. Coll.; for the violin and viol. He died 15 Jul. 1661, aged 28 yeares, and was buried in the chapel there. (5) John Vincent, M.A., fellow of the said Coll.; a violist. He went afterwards to the Inns of Court, and was a barrester. (6) Sylvanus Taylor, sometimes common of Wadh. Coll., afterwards fellow of Allsoules; and violist and songster. He went afterwards to Ireland, and died at Dublin in the beginning of Nov. 1672. His elder brother, capt. Silas Taylor, was a composer of musick, playd and sung his parts: and when his occasions brought him to Oxon, he would be at the musical meetings, and play and sing his part there. (7) Henry Langley, M.A. and gent. Commoner of Wadh. Coll.; a violist. He was afterwards a celebrated poet, beneficed in Hampshire, and prebendary of Winchester. (9) Francis Parry, M.A., fellow of Corp. Chr. Coll.; a violist and songster. He was afterwards a traveller, (and belonged to the excise

[58] Wood 204-205. "A.W" refers to Anthony Wood who within his writings sometimes referred to himself in the third person.

> office). (10) Christopher Coward, M.A. fellow of C.C. [Corpus Christi] coll., a violist and division-violist. He was afterwards rector of Dicheat in his native county of Somersetshire; proceeded D. of D. at Oxon in 1694. (11) Charles Bridgeman, M.A. of Queen coll. and of kin to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. He was afterwards archdeacon of Richmond. He died 26 Nov. 1678, and was buried in the chap. belonging to that coll. (12) Nathaniel Crew, M.A., fellow of Linc. Coll.; a violinist and violist, but always played out of tune, as having no good eare. He was afterwards, thro several preferments, bishop of Durham. (13) Christopher Jeffryes, a junior student of Ch. Church; excellent at the organ and virginals or harpsichord, having been trained up to those instruments by his father Georg Jeffryes, steward to the lord Hatton of Kirbie in Northamptonshire and organist to K. Ch. I at Oxon. (16) Richard Rhodes, another junior student of Ch. Church, a confident Westmonasterian, a violinist to hold between his knees. These did frequent the weekly meetings; and by the help of publick masters of musick, who were mixed with them, they were much improv'd. Narcissus Marsh, M.A. and fellow of Exeter Coll., would come somtimes [*sic.*] among them, but seldome play'd, because he had a weekly meeting in his chamber in the said Coll. where masters of musick would come, and some of the company before mention'd. When he became principal of S. Alban's-hall, he translated the meeting thither, and there it continued when that meeting in Mr. Ellis's house was given over.[59]

Judging from the list of names supplied by Wood, it would seem that musicians in Interregnum Oxford were in ready supply.

As the lists so clearly indicate, by far the most favoured instrument was the viol. At their gatherings, the gentlemen of the:

> privat meetings ..., play'd three, four and five parts all with viols, as treble-viol, tenor, counter-tenor and bass, with either an organ or viginal or harpsicon joyn'd with them: and they esteemed a violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fiddler, and could not indure that it should come among them for feare of making their meetings seem to be vaine and fiddling. But before the restoration of K. Charles 2 and especially after, viols began to be out of fashion, and only violins used, as treble-violin, tenor and bass-violin.[60]

This change of attitude towards the violin was most likely the result of two visitations to the gathering in 1658, the violinists Davis Mell and Thomas Baltzar (d.1663). As Wood pointed out:

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[59] Wood 273-75.
[60] Wood 212.

> [t]he company did look upon Mr. Mell to have a prodigious hand on the violin, and they thought that no person, as all in London did, could goe beyond him. But when Thomas Baltser, an outlander [foreigner], came to Oxon in the next yeare, they had other thoughts of Mr. Mell, who tho he play'd farr sweeter than Baltsar, yet Baltsar's hand was more quick and could run it insensible to the end of the finger-board.[61]

Yet this was part of a wider trend. North revealed that:

> [t]he use of the violin had bin litle [*sic.*] in England except by comon [*sic.*] fidlers. In consorts the chest of violls, with an organ, were the chief suppellectile [household equipment], and seldome wanted in a musicall family. But I must observe that the masters never trusted the organist with his thro-base, but composed his part. One Baltzar a Swede, about the time of the Restoration came over, and shewed so much mastery upon that instrument, that gentlemen, following also the humour of the Court ... soon thrust out the treble viol ... . Baltzar had a hand as swift as any, and used the double notes very much; but altogether his playing, compared with our latter violins, was like his country rough and harsh.[62]

Given the nature of much of the consort repertoire from the early and mid seventeenth century, the ease of transferability between the violin and treble viol was usually well assured.[63] The music meetings of Oxford and other places most likely utilised both instruments.

In contrast, attempting to ascertain the precise musical diet of these meetings is more problematic. For all his detail regarding the music meetings hosted by William Ellis, Wood provides no direct information as to the group's specific repertoire. Fortunately however, this can be traced by other means. Within the gathering:

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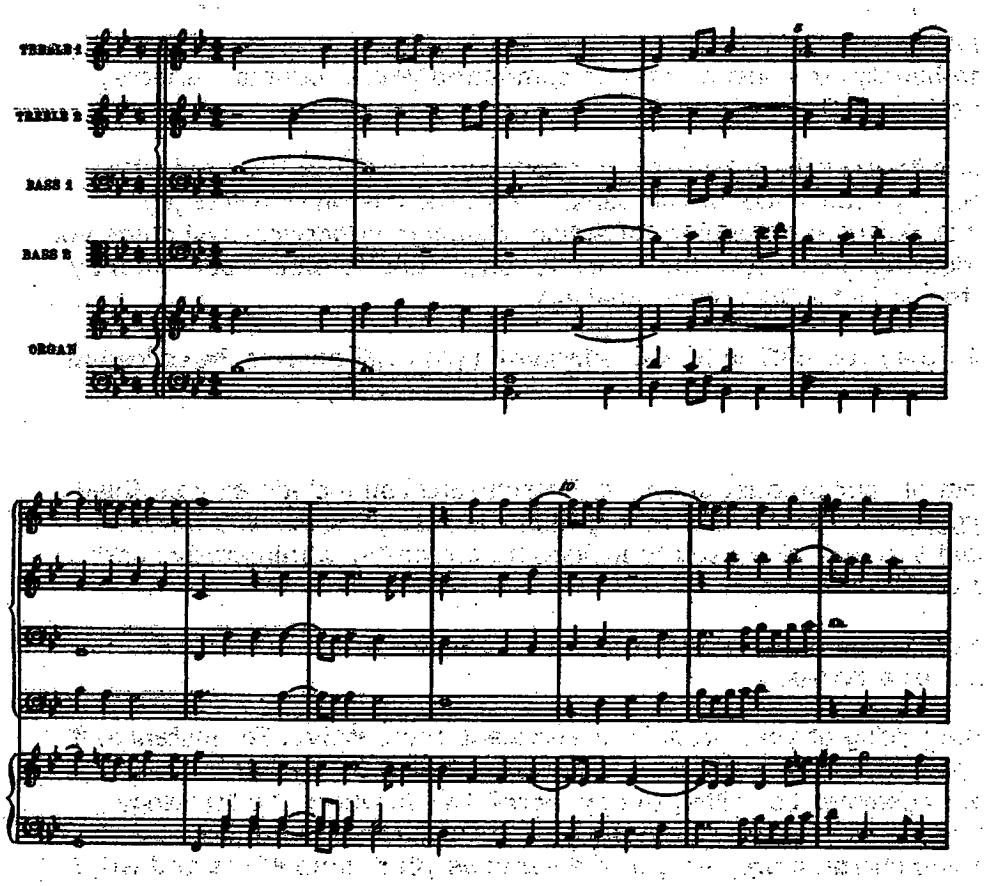
[61] Wood 242. Baltzar was originally from Lübeck in northern Germany but spent some time in the service of the Swedish royal court. See Peter Holman, "Baltzar, Thomas," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001; Holman, "Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663), the 'Incomperable *Lubicer* on the Violin'," *Chelys* 13 (1984): 3-38.

[62] North, *Roger North on Music* 300-301.

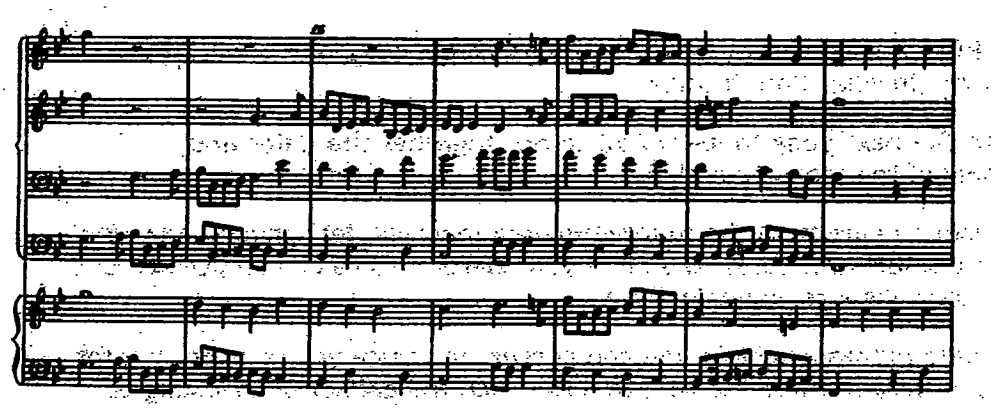
[63] See Jane T. Johnson, "Violin Versus Viol In English Fantasia-Suites," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 15 (1978): 88-101.

> Jeffries, Wilson, Ellis, Lowe, and Hutton were among those who were active in both copying and collecting. Much of the music favoured at these weekly meetings was a very conservative repertory, distinctively for viol ensemble, deriving from the first half of the seventeenth century by composers such as Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, Coprario, Tomkins and Jenkins. The younger generation of composers cultivated at Oxford, notably Christopher Simpson and Matthew Locke, while continuing to write music for viols, increasingly gave prominence in upper parts to the violin.[64]

Some of these more modern styles may have been included in later meetings, particularly as the violin gained more acceptance, but for Wood and his colleagues older forms seem to have been preferable. A work that may have been heard at the house of Ellis was the four-part Pavan in B-flat major by "Mr. John Jenkyns (the mirrour and wonder of his age for musick):"



[64] P.M. Gouk, "Music in Seventeenth-Century Oxford," *History of the University of Oxford, Vol. IV: 1603-1688*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 633.

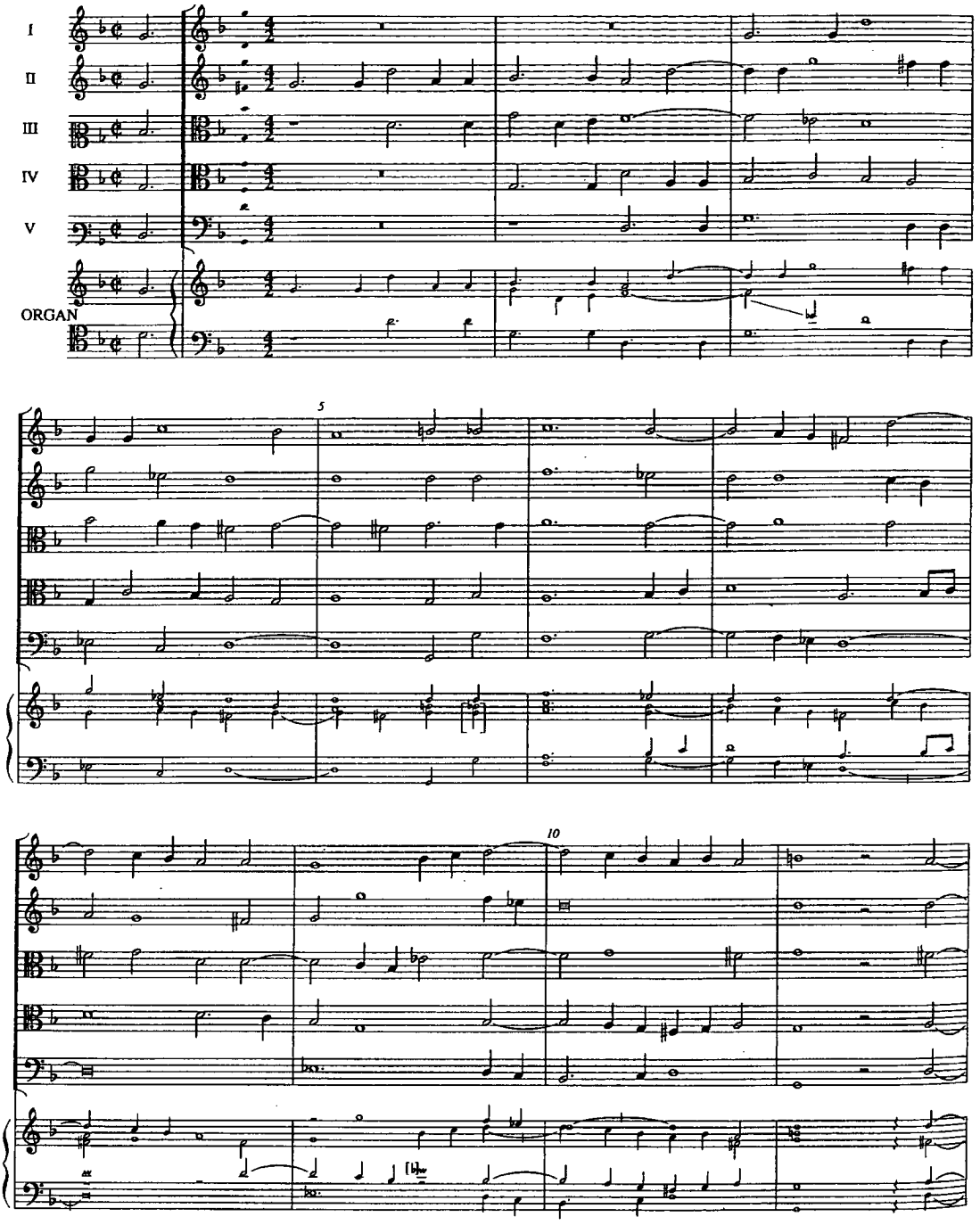


Ex. 28. John Jenkins. Pavan in B-flat major.[65]

In regard to this aspect of mid-seventeenth-century English music, the Oxford music meetings hosted by William Ellis, sources are relatively profuse.

Such accounts are further supported by the existence of a number of music manuscripts deriving from this period. One of the most complete is Add. MS. 39 550-4, five part-books from a set of six containing five and six-part consort music.[66] In conjunction with its companion source, MS 1145, three of a set of five part-books, these documents provide a valuable indication of mid-seventeenth-century domestic repertoire.[67] Both manuscripts are dominated by the work of contemporary or recently deceased composers, amongst them Thomas Lupo, John Coprario, John Ward, Thomas Ravenscroft, Richard Dering and John Jenkins:

[65] Wood 209. John Jenkins, *Consort Music of Four Parts*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, *Musica Britannica* 26, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1969) 65.
[66] Housed in the British Library.
[67] Housed in the Royal College of Music, London.



Ex. 29. John Ward. Fantasia No. 13.[68]

Given that the Le Strange family was sequesitioned during the Civil War, it is difficult to determine when and if these manuscripts were utilised after the outbreak of hostilities. In their comprehensive survey of manuscripts containing

[68] Ian Payne, ed. *John Ward: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, *Musica Britannica*, vol. 76, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1995) 62.

viol consort music, Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright have suggested that these documents most likely date from the 1630s and there is little reason to dispute their claim.[69] Unfortunately however the date of the manuscripts' creation does not provide complete information as to its subsequent history.

A second set of manuscripts is housed in Christ Church College, Oxford, Mus. 2, 397-408 and 436. This collection, sometimes referred to as the "Great Set," contains consort music of three to six parts (score, part-books, organ book) either newly composed or transcribed from madrigals. Like Add. MS 39 550-4 and MS 1145, the "Great Set" also derives from the 1630s, although it was probably copied by different scribes.[70] Fortunately, most of the collection is complete, the main exception being MS401-2 which lacks the treble viol book. In terms of repertoire the manuscripts are dominated by later sixteenth-century Italian and early seventeenth-century English composers, amongst them John Coprario, Thomas Lupo, Richard Mico, Orlando Gibbons, Ward, Jenkins and the second Alfonso Ferrabosco. An example of the contents can be seen in fantasias by Thomas Lupo and Alfonso Ferrabosco II:

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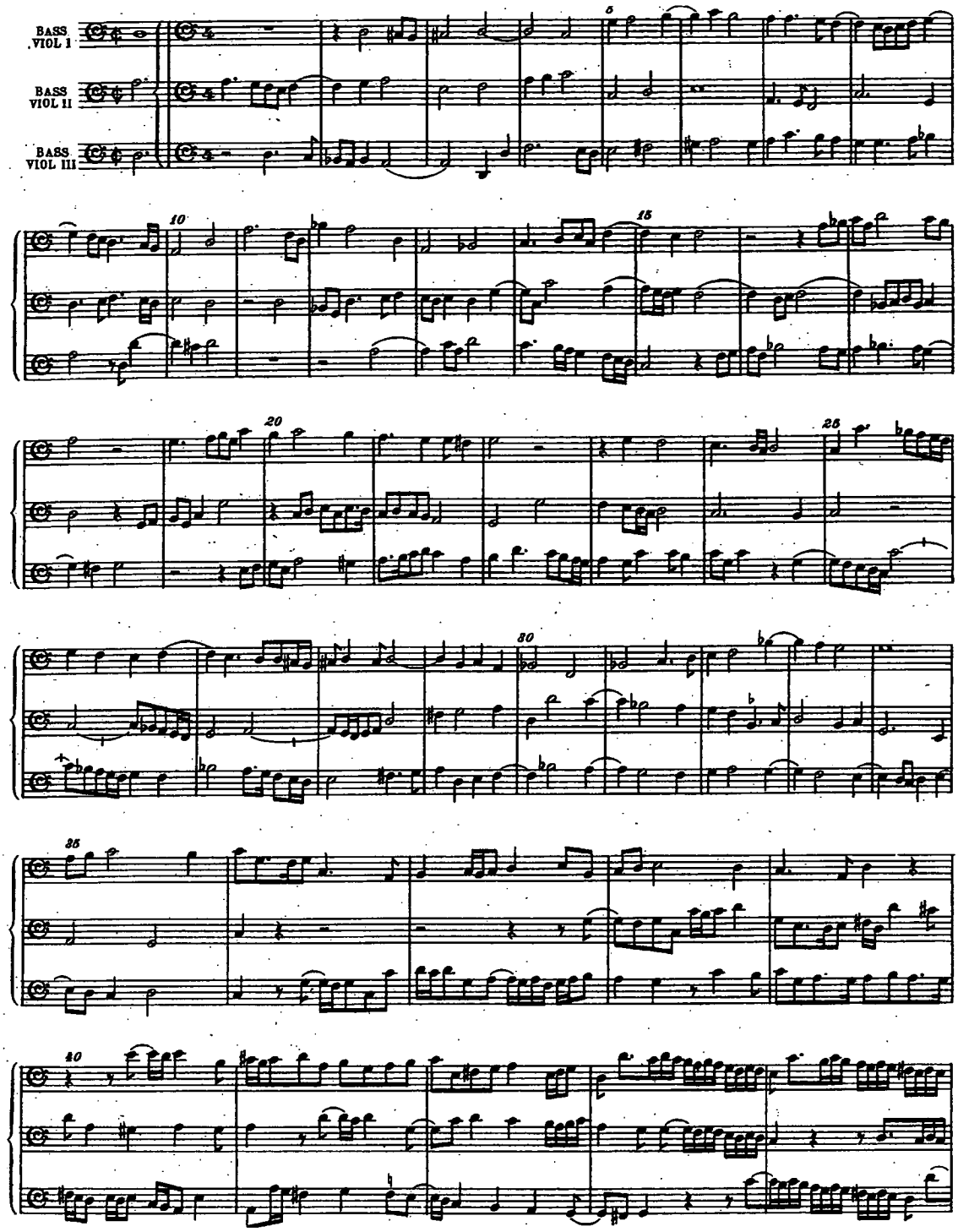
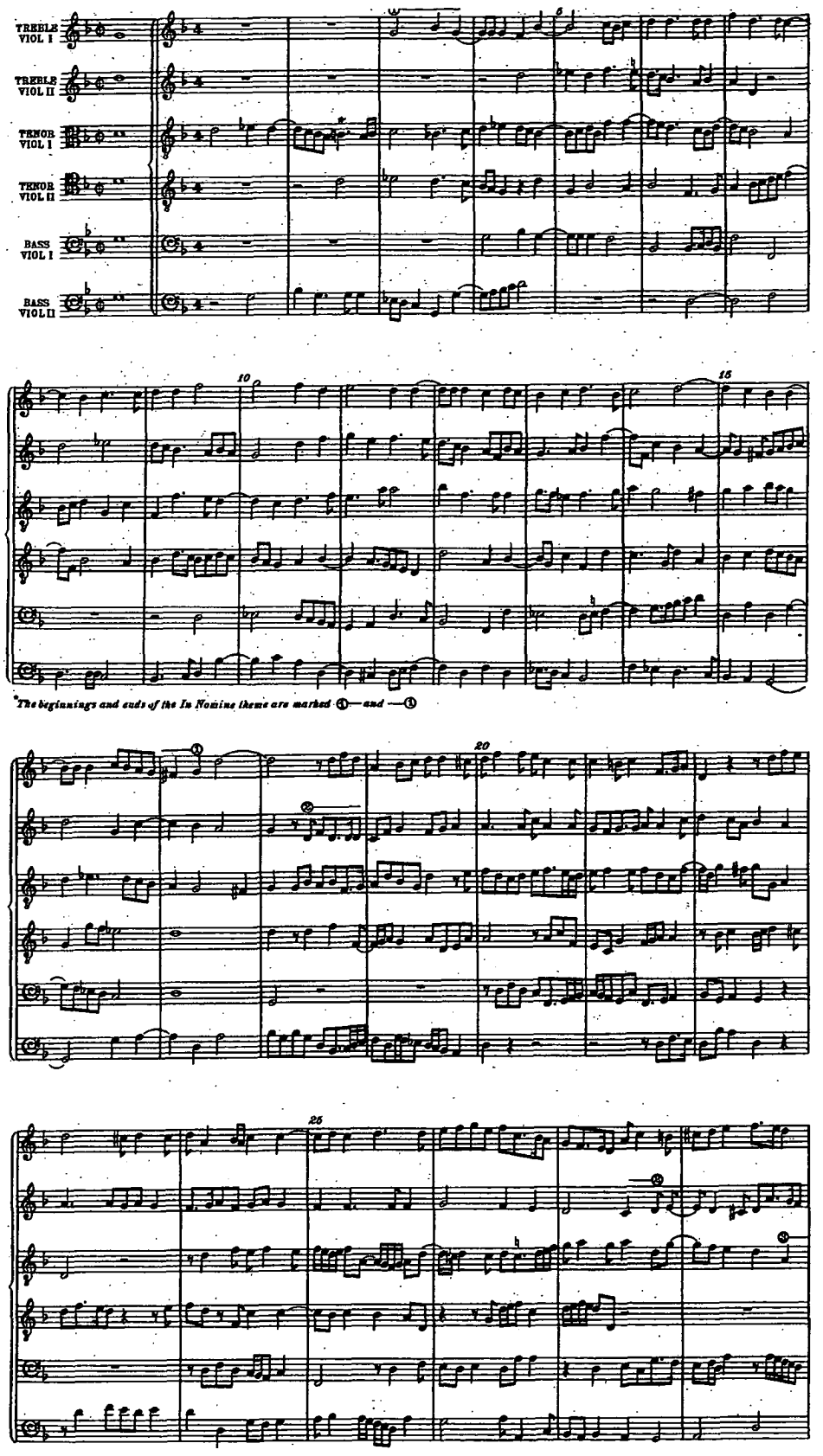
[69] Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music.* Vol 1, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 7.

[70] Stephen Bing (1610-81) and John Lilly (1612-78). The scribes of Add. MS 39550-4 and MS 1145 were Nicholas Le Strange (1603-55) and one or more anonymous copyists. See Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright 172-89, 58-68 and 90-96.



Ex. 30. Thomas Lupo. Three-part Fantasia.[71]

[71] Thurston Dart and William Coates, eds. *Jacobean Consort Music, Musica Britannica*, vol. 9, 2nd ed., (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971) 15.



Ex. 31. Alfonso Ferrabosco II. Six-part Fantasia, "In nomine."[72]

[72] Dart and Coates 122-23.

Written sources and music manuscripts may not be as extensive as ideally hoped, but such information provides a valuable indication of institutional and domestic musical activity during the Civil War and Interregnum period.

Given Wood's extensive accounts of "the weekly meetings of musitions in the house of William Ellis," it is easy to overlook evidence of similar gatherings.[73] Yet Wood himself revealed that the meetings he attended did not exist in isolation. He wrote that both Thomas Janes and Narcissus Marsh held their own gatherings at Magdalen and Exeter College respectively and that some of those who attended the meetings of William Ellis also utilised these other opportunities. In addition:

> [b]esides the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house, which were first on Thursday, then on Tuesday, there were meetings of the scholastical musitians every Friday night, in the winter time, in some colleges; as in the chamber of Henry Langley, or of Samuel Woodford, in Wadham Coll.; in the chamber of Christopher Harrison in Queen's Coll.; in that of Charles Perot in Oriel; in another at New Coll. &c. – to all which some masters of musick would commonly retire, as William Flexney, Thomas Jackson, Gervas Westcote, &c.; but these meetings were not continued above 2 or 3 yeares, and I think they did not go beyond the yeare 1662.[74]

Considering Wood's specific mention of "scholastical musitians" at the meetings of Langley, Woodford, Harrison and Perot and "masters of musick" attending the house of Narcissus Marsh, it seems fair to suppose that some examples of a more technically-advanced repertoire may have been performed at these gatherings.[75] Either way, the fact that such events took place at all during the Interregnum further refutes the sentiment that "the gloomy fanaticism of the times" allowed only "unisonous and syllabic psalmody."[76]

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[73] Wood 204.
[74] Wood 275.
[75] Wood 275, 274.
[76] Burney 321.

Despite the impressive musical climate of Interregnum Oxford, the events that characterised it do not appear to have continued much beyond the Restoration. Wood reported that:

> [a]fter his majestie's restoration, when then the masters of musick were restored to their several places that they before had lost, or else if they had lost none, they had gotten then preferment, the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house began to decay, because they were held up only by scholars, who wanted directors and instructors, &c. so that in a few yeares after, the meeting in that house being totally layd aside, the chief meeting was at Mr. (then Dr.) Marshe's chamber, at Exeter Coll., and afterwards at S. Alban's hall, as before I have told you.[77]

However, this gathering cannot have lasted long since after the Restoration Marsh moved to Ireland to become Master of Trinity College Dublin.[78] In light of this disintegration of the Oxford music meetings, the observation that:

> musick [was] dayly Improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects But musick) the happy restauration

acquires a stronger basis.[79] Yet the nature of North's language indicated that he was referring to England as a whole rather than to specific regional circumstances. Being from nearby Cambridgeshire, North may well have been aware of events in Oxford although, even if this were the case, it seems unlikely that he would have blindly applied the Oxford experience to all of England. It was therefore most likely part of a wider trend.

The music meetings at the house of William Ellis and others were very much a product of their time. During a period of significant musical unemployment and widespread confusion they provided a medium for expression and an opportunity for income. This latter point is particularly interesting as it indicated the very beginnings of what could perhaps be described as a concert

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[77] Wood 275.
[78] Wood 275.
[79] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 19.

tradition – the idea of paying an "admission fee" to attend a musical performance. As the records of Wood so consistently reveal, his weekly indulgence in music cost *6d.*[80] Nor was this the only instance of payment for entry into music gatherings. From 1648 the changed economic circumstances of Edmund Chilmead meant that he:

> was forced, such were the then times, to obtain a living by that, which before was only a diversion to him, I mean by a weekly music meeting, which he set up at the *Black Horse* in *Aldersgatestreet* in *London.*[81]

With the coming of the Restoration, and subsequent reinstatement of church choirs and the royal musical establishment, attendance at these meetings dried up. As Wood clearly stated, after 1660:

> the masters of musick were restored to their several places that they before had lost, or else if they had lost none, they had gotten then preferment.[82]

With new or re-opened avenues for musical performance, the environment that had so favoured paid musical gatherings largely disappeared after the accession of Charles II.

The meetings described by Wood were not the only casualties of the 1660s. North's observation that the performance and composition of music had "decayed" after the Restoration was as much a lament for style as it was for circumstance. The return of Charles II to England was accompanied by new trends in music. As North explained:

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[80] See Wood 181-321. In modern terms this would be just under £3. "How Much is That Worth Today?," *Economic History Services*, http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/.

[81] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford, To which are added the Fasti, or Annals, of the said University*, 2 vols., 1691, vol. 2, 99.

[82] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, vol. 1, 275.

> the french [*sic.*] musick was in request, ... And it was & is yet a mode among ye Monseurs, allwais to act ye musick, w^{ch} habit the King had got and never in his life could endure any that he could not act by keeping the time, w^{ch} made the common andante or els the step tripla ye onely musicall styles at court in his time. And after ye manner of france [*sic.*], he set up a band of 24 violins to play at his dinners, w^{ch} disbanded all the old English musick at once.[83]

Mace also sadly noted the increased dominance of the violin, considering the "*Lovely*, and *very Contentive*" viol consort music to be "the best practical music, both divine, and civil, that has ever been known, to have been in the world," and lamenting its replacement by increasingly virtuosic violin music which filled "a man's brains full of frisks."[84] Whilst some of the concerns of North and Mace must be viewed as part of a nostalgic preferment for the past over the present, their feelings of loss were not entirely unjustified. Just as the Civil War and Interregnum before it, the Restoration also impacted on the English music of its period. The overall results and circumstances may have been different, but the diversity of outcomes amongst groups and individuals remained a common theme.

Unfortunately, the detail provided by Wood was not forthcoming in other sources – mention of domestic music is all too frequently limited rather than abundant and general rather than specific. Yet there were a few exceptions. In 1654, Evelyn recorded that:

> we walked to *Magdalen* Coll: where we saw the *Library & Chapell*, which was likewise in pontifical order, the *Altar* onely I think turn'd *Table*-wise: & there was still the double *Organ*, which abominations (as now esteem'd) were almost universaly [*sic.*] demolish'd: Mr. *Gibbon* that famous Musitian, giving us a tast [*sic.*] of his skill & Talent on that Instrument.[85]

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[83] North, *The Musicall Gramarian* 27.
[84] Mace 234.
[85] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer (London: OUP, 1959) 341. Assuming Evelyn did have the right college, the performance by Christopher Gibbons must have occurred prior to the removal of the Magdalen organ to Hampton Court. See Chapter Two, pp.83 and Chapter Three, pp.159.

The following year he:

> was invited to dine at the Sherifs of Lond: where was extraordinary cheere & Musique.[86]

Pepys also spoke of music, although given the later date of his diary most of his referrals were to the Restoration rather than the Interregnum.[87] Even so, some of the events he described could easily have occurred in earlier period and, from the language Pepys employed, were probably relatively common.

With the coming of civil war and the dissolution of cathedral choirs and the royal musical establishment, some probably found themselves in a similar situation to Mr Perkin. On 8th May 1661 Pepys recorded that:

> [t]o-day I received a letter from my uncle, to beg an old fiddle of me for Perkin, the miller, whose mill the wind hath lately broke down, and now he hath nothing to live by but fiddling, and he must needs have it against Whitsuntide to play to the country-girles; but it vexed me to see how my uncle writes to me, as if he were not able to buy him one. But I intend to-morrow to send him one.[88]

Similarly, his entries of June 1661 were also chronologically transferable. On the first Wednesday of the month:

> Sir W. Pen and I went out with Sr R. Slingsby to bowles in his ally, and there had good sport. I took my flageolette, and played upon the leads in the garden, where Sir W. Pen come out in his shirt into his leads, and there we staid talking and singing and drinking great draughts of claret, and eating botargo, and bread and butter till twelve at night, it being moonshine; and so to-bed, very near fuddled.[89]

Pepys must have readily partook in the merriment since on the Thursday he lamented that:

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[86] Evelyn 358.

[87] The diary began in January 1660 although to Pepys, since the new year did not begin until March, it would still have been 1659.

[88] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 2 vols, ed. J. Smith, Lord Braybrooke and Richard Garnett, (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1906) 162.

[89] Pepys 170. Botargo was a sausage made of eggs and the blood of sea mullet. The date was 5th June. See *Time and Date*, http://www.timeanddate.com/calendar, 13th May 2003.

> [m]y head hath aked all night, and all this morning, with my last nights' debauch.[90]

Hopefully his pain was due to the "great draughts of claret" rather than the music.

Yet whilst such accounts provide a clear indication that music was cultivated in private during this period, they give little indication of what was actually played. From the writings of Wood it quickly becomes apparent that the dominant repertoire, at least for the Oxford music meetings, was for viol consort, either with or without the use of violins for the upper parts. To this was frequently added an organ or theorbo, further contributing to the rich timbre of the work. An example of consort music by Jenkins has already been given, but the meetings of Oxford probably also preformed music by William Lawes, due both to the composer's prolific output and the inclusion of his music in manuscripts associated with the group.[91] Wood's observation that Lawes "broke sometimes ye rules of mathematical composition" further suggests a familiarity with the works of this composer.[92] Some indication of what Wood may have been referring to can be seen in the Fantasia from the five-part *Consort Sett* in C minor:

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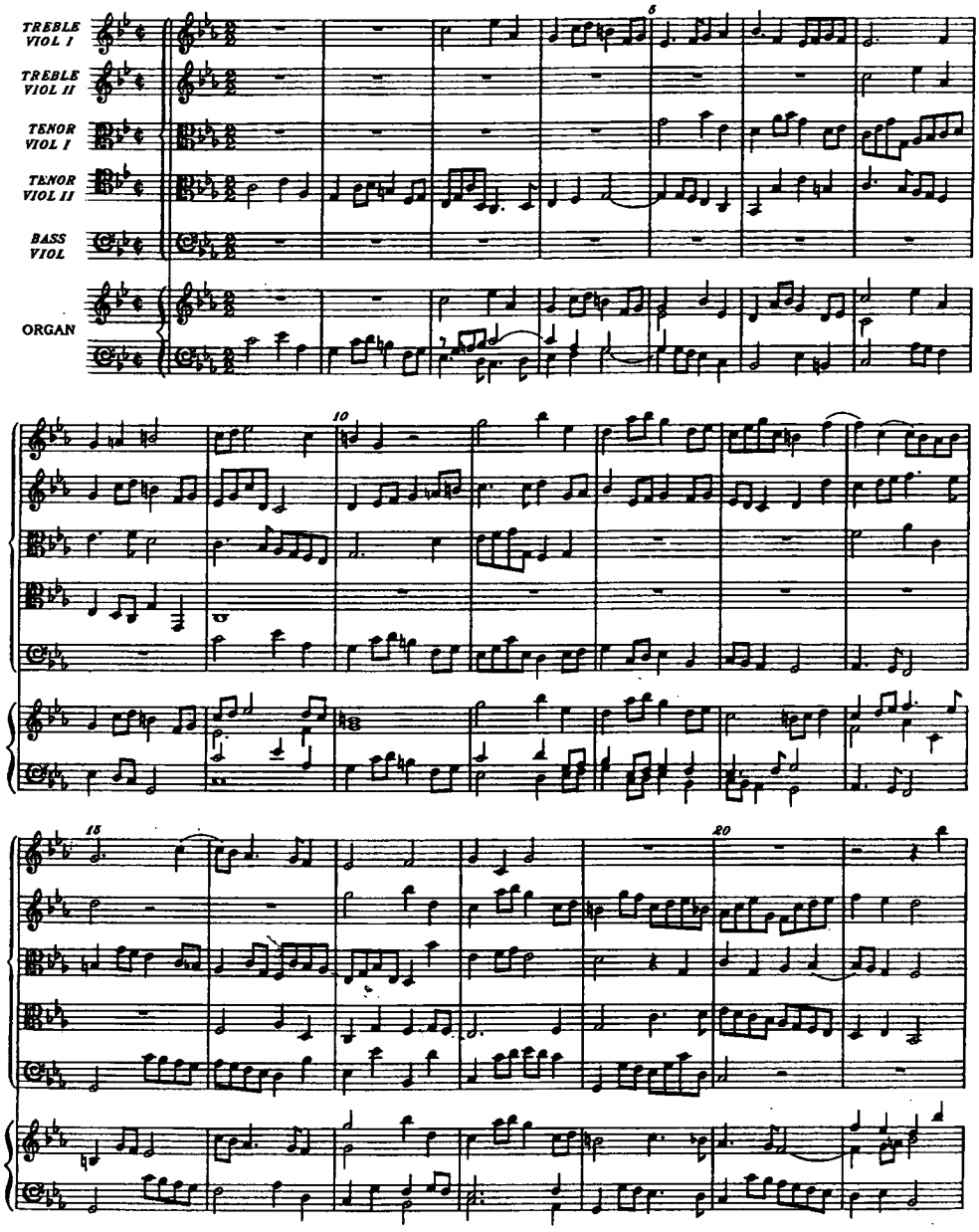
[90] Pepys 170.
[91] See Pamela J. Willetts, "Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford," *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1960-61) 73.
[92] Anthony Wood, *Notes on the Lives of English Musicians*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Wood D. 19(4).



Ex. 32. William Lawes. Fantasia from the *Consort Sett* in C minor.[93]

Given the number of musicians attending the Oxford music meetings, North's observation that that many "private families and societies" possessed "chests of violls," and the existence of this repertoire across a variety of English manuscripts, the performance of viol consort music during the Commonwealth

[93] William Lawes, *Select Consort Music*, ed. Murray Lefkowitz, *Musica Britannica* 21, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1963) 17.

and Protectorate was well assured.[94] Violins may have sometimes been used for the upper parts, but generally it was the viol that prevailed.

In addition to consort music was the solo viol repertoire, much of it taking the form of variations or "divisions." Usually written for the bass instrument, these works provided for the extensive display of virtuosity, either written out or improvised. Despite its technical demands, the genre must have enjoyed a substantial degree of popularity since in 1659 it was the subject of *The Division Violist, or An Introduction to the playing upon a Ground* by Christopher Simpson (*c.*1602/6-69).[95] Simpson stated that:

> [a] viol in the hands of an excellent Violist may (no doubt) be reckon'd amongst the best of Musical Instruments. To Play *ex tempore* to a Ground is the highest perfection of it.[96]

However, not all sets of divisions were created equal. After all, the genre was:

> a perfection that few attain unto, depending much upon the quickness of Invention as well as quickness of Hand. I answer, it is a perfection which some excellent Hands have not attained unto, as wanting those helps which should lead them to it; the supply of which want is the business we here endeavour. True it is, that Invention is a gift of Nature, but much improved by Exercise and Practice. He that hath it not in so high a measure as to play *ex tempore* to a *Ground*, may, notwithstanding give both himself and hearers sufficient satisfaction in playing such Divisions as himself or others have made for that purpose; in the performance whereof he may deserve the Name of an excellent Artist; for here the excellency of the Hand my be shewed as well as in the Other, and the Musick perhaps better, though less to be admired, as being more studied.[97]

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[94] North, *Memoires of Musick* 70. See Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 1, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

[95] A second edition was released in 1667 (dated 1665) and a third in 1712 under the title *Chelys: minuritionem artificio exornato/The Division Viol, or, The Art of Playing 'Ex tempore' upon a Ground.* See Frank Traficante, "Division" and "Division Viol," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001. For a modern edition see Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol, or, The Art of Playing 'Ex tempore' upon a Ground: A Lithographic Facsimilie of the Second Edition*, 1667 (London: Curwen, 1965).

[96] Simpson 1.

[97] Simpson 27.

Nor was it a homogenous style since:

> [i]n playing to a *Ground* we exercise the whole Compass of the *Viol*, acting therein sometimes the Part of a *Bass*, sometimes a *Treble* or some other Part. From hence proceed Two kinds of Division, *viz.* a *Breaking of the Ground*, and a *Descanting upon it*: Out of which two, is generated a Third sort of Division; to wit a *Mixture* of Those, one with the other.[98]

Regardless of form and the degree of improvisation, within the division viol repertoire the display of virtuosity was paramount.

As a means of further enhancing this principle, the mid seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of the division viol, an instrument specifically adapted to suit this genre. Simpson recommended that:

> [a] Viol for Division, should be of something a lesser size than a Consort Bass; that so the Hand may better command it: more or less short, according to the reach of his fingers, who is to use it: but the ordinary size, such as may carry a String of thirty Inches from the Bridge (duely placed) to the Nut. The Sound should be quick and sprightly, like a Violin; and Viols of that shape (the Bellyes being digged out the Plank) do commonly render such a Sound. It must be accommodated with six Strings; and with seven Frets, like those of a Lute, but something thicker. If also you fasten a small Fret, at the distance of an Octave from the open Strings (which is the middle betwixt the Nut and the Bridge) it will be a good Guide to your Hand, when you stop that part of the Finger-board.[99]

Yet the divisions repertoire was not limited to one instrument. Not only could such works be performed on a regular bass viol, they could also be extended into an ensemble setting. As Simpson explained:

> [a] *Ground*, *Subject*, or *Bass*, (call it which you please) is prick'd down in two several Papers; One for him who is to play the *Ground* upon an *Organ*, *Harpsechord* [*sic.*], or what other Instrument may be apt for that purpose; the Other, for him that plays upon the *Viol*, who, having the said *Ground* before his eyes, as his *Theme* or *Subject*, plays such variety of *Descant* or *Division* in Concordance thereto, as his skill and present invention do then suggest unto him. In this manner of Play, which is the perfection of the *Viol*, or any other Instrument, if it be exactly performed, a

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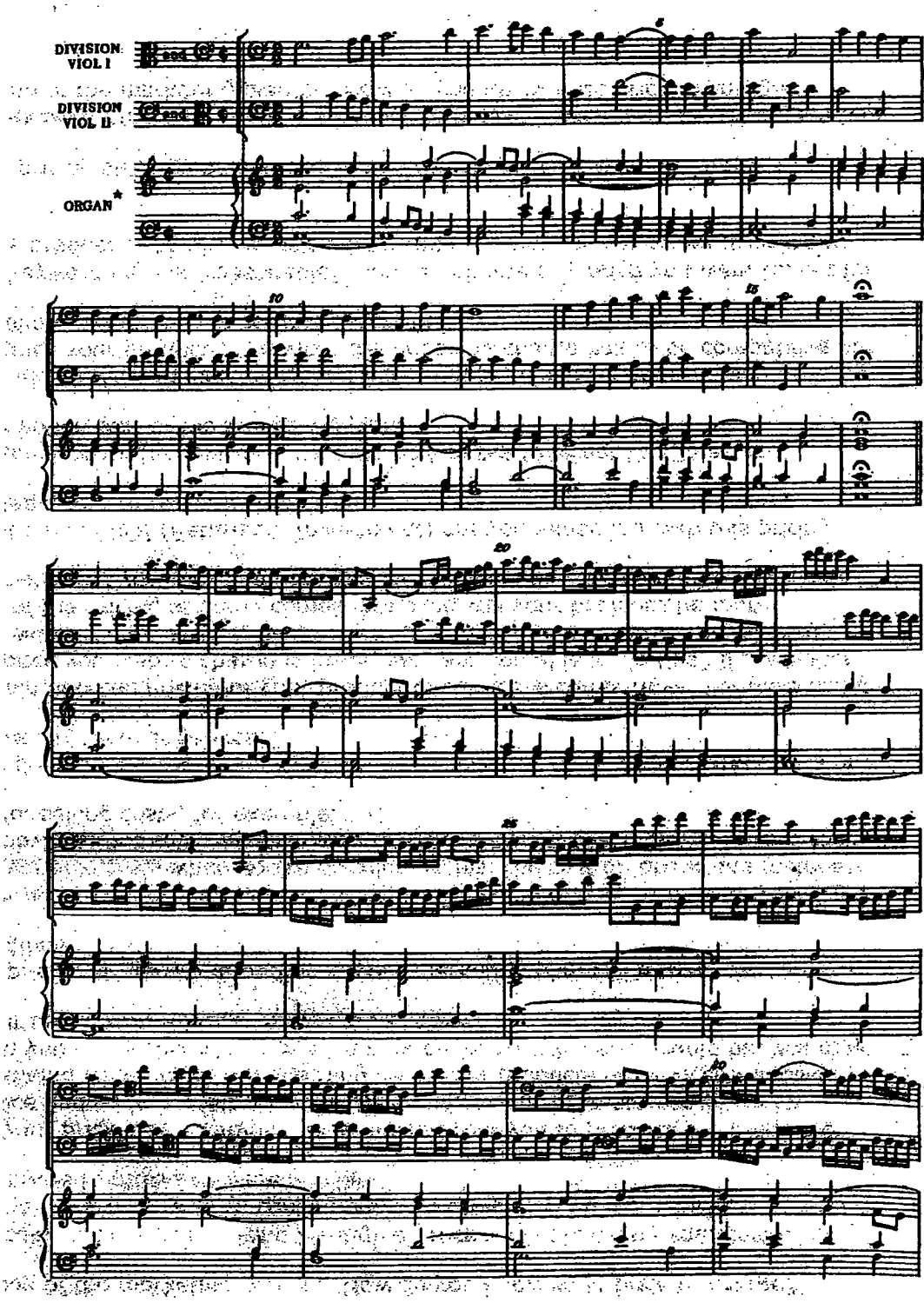
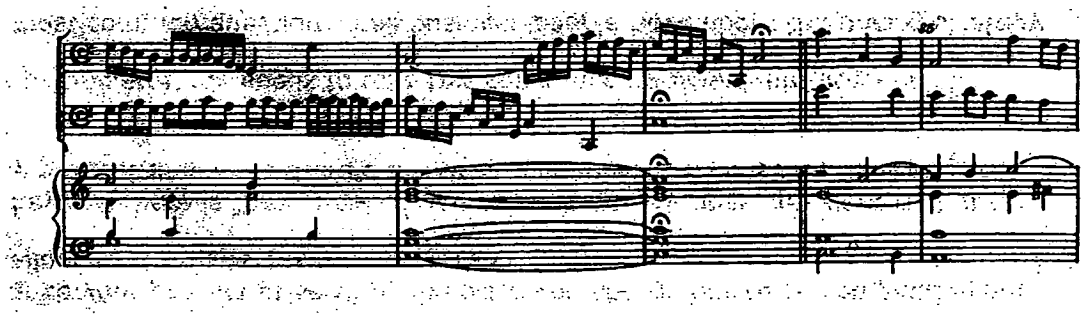
[98] Simpson 28.
[99] Simpson 1.

> man may shew the Excellency both of his Hand and Invention, to the delight and admiration of those that hear him.[100]

Such principles could also be adapted for two or more viols, as they were by William Lawes in his C Major Suite for Two Division Viols and Organ:



[100] Simpson 27.



Ex. 33. William Lawes. Suite for Two Division Viols and Organ in C Major.[101]

Whether used in consort music or divisions, the viol predominated in the music of mid-seventeenth-century England.

The other main genre of viol music popular during this period was that of the lyra viol, an instrument of smaller dimensions than the consort bass and division viol, but one that nevertheless enjoyed a large and specialised repertoire. However, just as the playing of variation forms was not excluded by the lack of a division viol, access to such an instrument was not a pre-requisite to performing this music. That the lyra viol existed is testified by extant models and the writings of Pepys, Playford, Simpson, Wood and others, but the prefix "lyra" referred as much to a style of playing as to a specific instrument.[102] Stylistically this repertoire was characterised by an emphasis on both harmonic and melodic elements achieved through a combination of multiple stopping and varying degrees of melodic interest. Largely as a result of this it was, unlike consort and division viol music, written in tablature. An example can be seen in John Playford's *Musick's Recreation* (1655):

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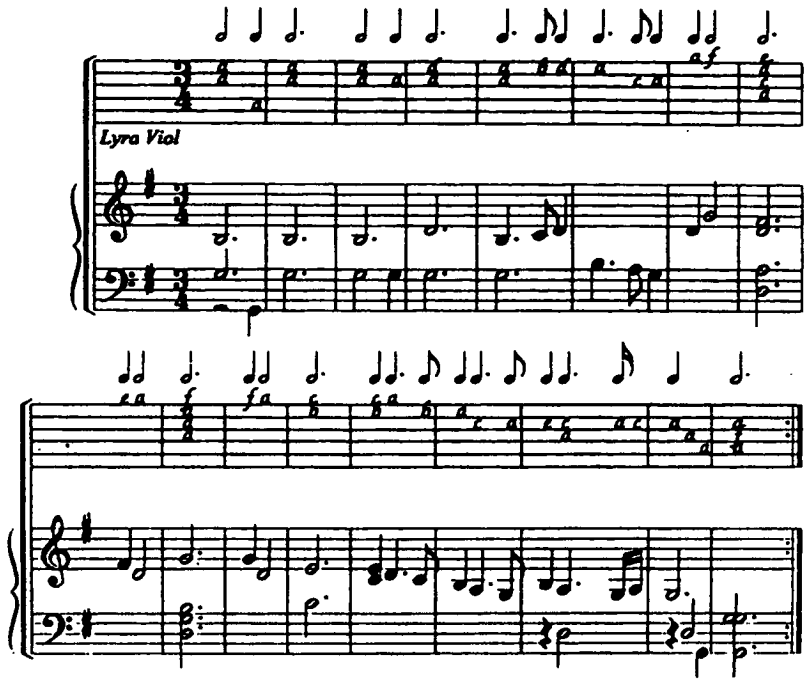
[101] Lawes 53-54.

[102] A photograph of a lyra viol can be found in Frank Traficante, "Lyra," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 2001, 419. Traficante has also provided a detailed list of referrals to the lyra viol and the viol "lyra-way" in "Lyra-Viol Music? A Semantic Puzzle," *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 335-56. The issue of "lyra" as both a style and an instrument also been discussed in Colette Harris, "The Viol Lyra-Way," *Chelys* 4 (1972): 17-21.



Ex. 34. William Lawes. "Country Coll." from *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* by John Playford.[103]

Despite the political upheavals of the mid-seventeenth-century period, England's corpus of domestic music, and the genres that constituted it, were far from poor.

Not surprisingly, the use of tablature for the lyra viol prompted comparisons with the lute. Earlier in the century, much to the dismay of John Dowland, Tobias Hume (*c.*1549-1645) had declared in his *The First Part of Ayres* (1605) that the "Gambo Violl" could "with ease yeelde full various and as deuicefull Musicke as the Lute."[104] Yet lute music of the period was very much a genre in its own right. The earlier decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a strong French influence on the repertoire, most notably in the form of tuning

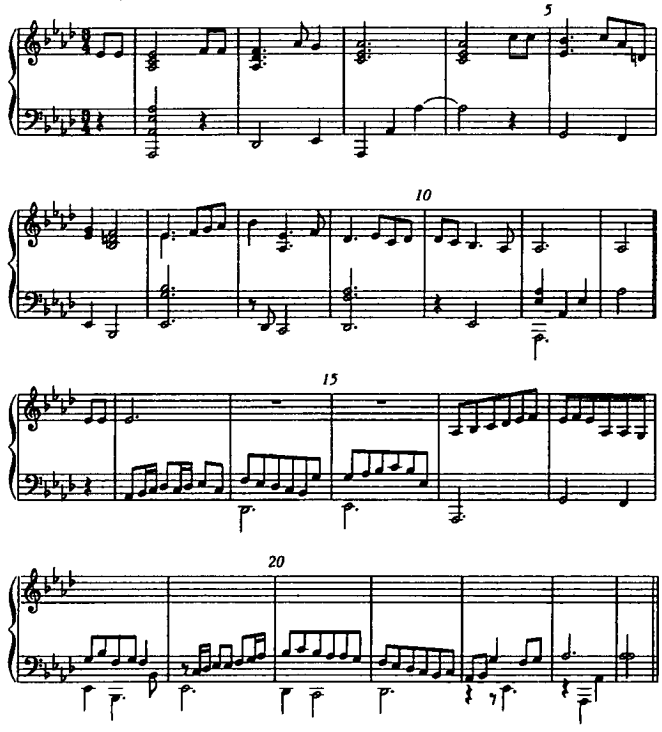
[103] William Lawes, "Country Coll.," John Playford, *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol*, 1655, 18; Frank Traficante, "William Lawes's Lyra Viol Music: Some Observations," *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work.* Ed. Andrew Ashbee, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 349.

[104] Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and others together, some in Tabliture, and some in Pricke-Song: With Pauines, Galliards, and Almaines for the Viole De Gambo alone, and other Musicall Conceites for two Base Viols ... and for two Leero Viols ... and some Songes to bee sung to the Viole, with the Lute ... Also an Inuention for two to play vpon one Viole*, 1605, 2.

systems and organological development. This was largely due to the predominance of French lutenists at the Caroline court, and in particular the household of Henrietta Maria. One of the most successful was Jacques Gaultier who in 1625 was awarded a:

> [w]arrant to pay £100 ... and to continue the yearly payment thereof until he shall have a grant of the same made to him under the Great Seal of England.[105]

With such incentives, it was not surprising that Gaultier chose to spend much of his life, or at least the parts that coincided with monarchical rule, in England. Considering the strong French influences on lute music during the seventeenth century and the existence of his music in English manuscripts, there seems good reason to suppose that some of his works were probably heard during the Civil War and Commonwealth period:



Ex. 35. Jacques Gaultier. "Courante."[106]

[105] Ashbee 8. The modern equivalent of this would have been around £11 500. "How Much is That Worth Today?."

[106] Matthew Spring, "Solo Music for Tablature Instruments," *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian

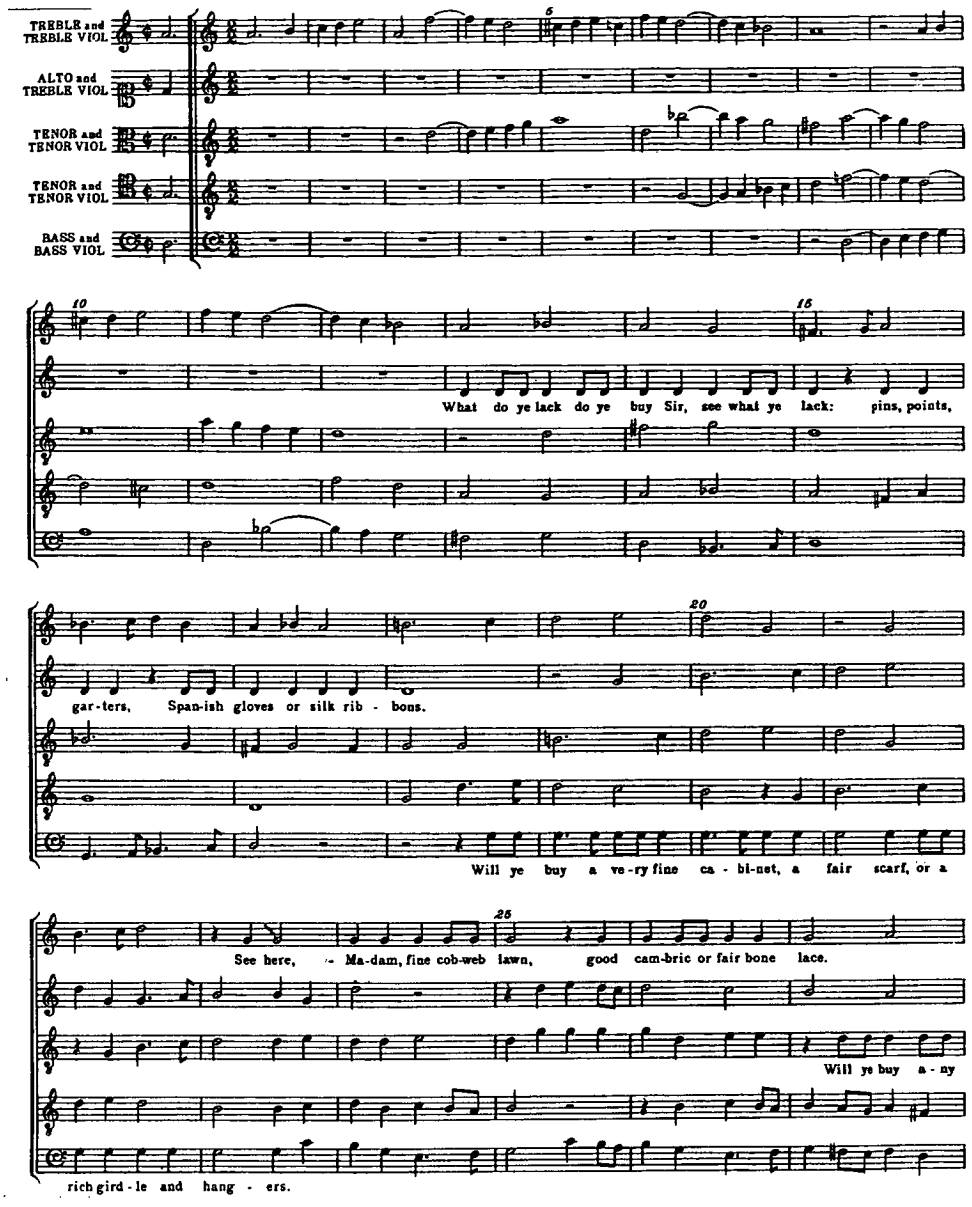
Lutes and viols were both versatile instruments yet the tastes of mid-seventeenth-century England ensured that neither was limited to an exclusively solo repertoire.

As with the viol consort, lutes could also be joined with voices. The latter has already been mentioned in Chapter Four with the work of William Webb, but he was not the only proponent of the style.[107] The list is numerous. Thomas Campion, John Hilton (1599-1657), Nicholas Lanier, Thomas Ravenscroft (*c.*1590-*c.*1633) and John Wilson all wrote works for lute and voice and, given the number of works published or surviving in manuscript, their output must have been reasonably popular. To this was probably added the domestic performance of madrigals, a tradition of long-standing in England. The other main domestic vocal music of the period was the "consort song," in which solo voices were joined with viols, the singers no doubt on some occasions also being part of the instrumental ensemble. Although a viol consort would have been ideal for accompanying psalm singing at home, the text of many consort songs was secular. In describing city life, Richard Dering (*c.*1580-1630) provided the following:[108]

Spink, Music in Britain, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 386-87.

[107] See pp.231.

[108] Richard Dering, "The City Cries," *Consort Songs*, ed. Philip Brett, *Musica Britannica* 22, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1967) 133.



Ex. 36. Richard Dering. "The City Cries."[109]

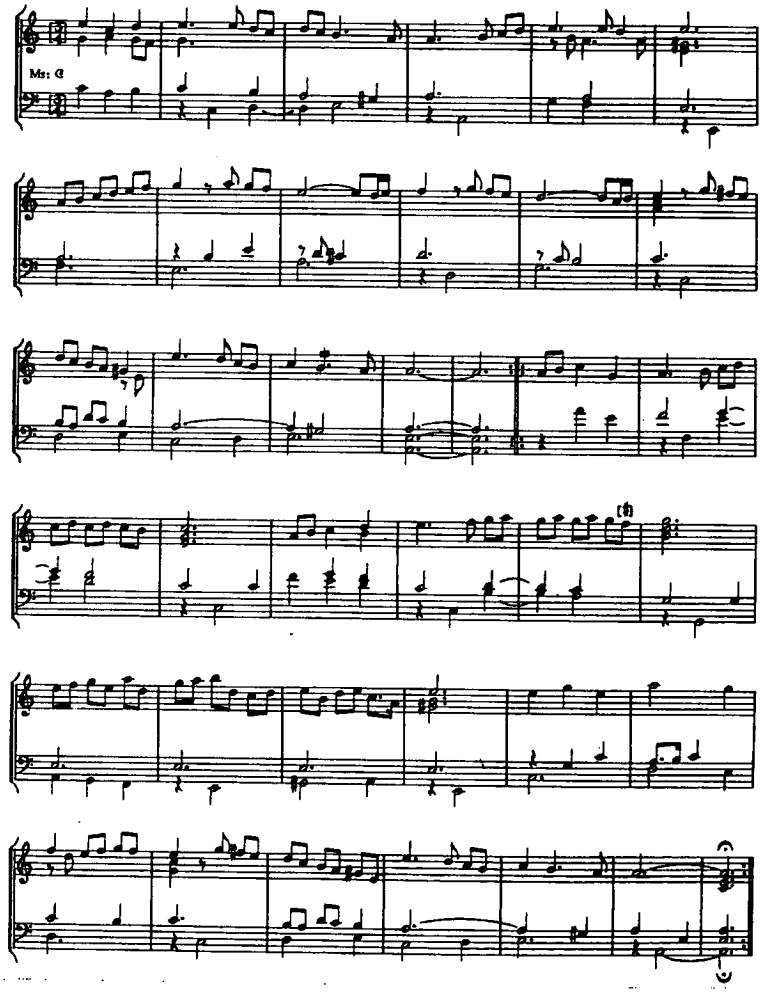
In the realm of domestic vocal music, mid-seventeenth-century England was well equipped.

The other main body of domestic repertoire prominent at this time was music for keyboard instruments. That a sizeable number of households possessed, and valued, such items was noted by Pepys. In the midst of the Great Fire:

[109] Richard Dering, "The City Cries," *Consort Songs*, ed. Philip Brett, *Musica Britannica* 22, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1967) 133.

> [r]iver [was] full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls in it.[110]

Stylistically, a large proportion of Commonwealth keyboard music took the form of dances, either self-contained or as the basis of a suite. The almain, corant, pavan, galliard, saraband and jig were becoming increasingly popular. An example of the style can be seen in the following courante by Christopher Gibbons:



Ex. 37. Christopher Gibbons. "Corrente."[111]

[110] Pepys, vol. 2, 90.

[111] Christopher Gibbons, *Keyboard Compositions*, ed. Clare G. Rayner, *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* 16, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967) 33.

The domestic repertoire of mid-seventeenth-century England therefore encompassed a wide range of genres, ranging from solo keyboard and lute music to compositions for viol consort. It was a diversity that continued in spite of the political turmoils that characterised the period.

One of the most notable environments in which such diversity would have been heard was the musical establishment of Oliver Cromwell. That the Lord Protector was fond of music was well documented. His relocation of the Magdalen College organ to Hampton Court has already been mentioned, as have the festivities surrounding his daughter's wedding, but these were not the only referrals to Cromwell's enjoyment of music.[112] On the death of James Quin, a member of Christ Church Oxford, Wood recollected that:

> [h]is voice was a bass, and he had a great command of it … . He had been turn'd out of his student's place by the Visitors; but being well acquainted with some great men of those times that loved musick, they introduced him into the company of Oliver Cromwel [*sic.*] the protector, who loved a good voice and instrumentall musick well. He heard him sing with very great delight, … and in conclusion said: 'Mr. Quin you have done very well, what shall I doe for you?' To which Quin made answer with great complements, of which he had command with great grace, that his Highness would be pleased to restore him to his Student's place; which he did accordingly, and so kept it to his dying day.[113]

Given this, it is not surprising that Cromwell should have kept a musical establishment of a similar nature, but much smaller proportions, to that of Charles I. Wood wrote that John Hingston was appointed "organist to Oliver Protector" and trained "two Boyes to sing with himselfe Mr. Dearings printed latine songes for 3 voices."[114] Whilst the identity of the two boys is unknown, the other members of this small-scale establishment were revealed in the diary of Thomas

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[112] See Chapter Two, pp.85 and Chapter Three, pp.159.
[113] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, vol. 1, 287.
[114] Anthony Wood, *Notes on the Lives of English Musicians*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Wood D. 19(4).

Burton who listed Hingston, Davis Mell, John Rogers, Thomas Mallord, William Howe, Thomas Balgrove, William Gregory and Richard Hudson as having played at Cromwell's funeral in 1658.[115]

That at least some of these men were member of Cromwell's establishment was confirmed by:

> [t]he humble petition of John Hingston and other ye Gent. Of his Highness Musique. 19th Febr. 1656.[116]

This was addressed:

> [t]o the Right Honourable the Committee of the Council for Advancement of musicke [from] The humble Peticion of John Hingston, Davis Mell, William Howse, Richard Hudson and William Gregory, Gentlemen, on behalfe of themselves and others the Professors of Musick

and stated:

> [t]hat by reason of the late dissolucion of the Quires in the Cathedralls where the study and practice of the Science of Musick was especially cherished, Many of the skilfull Professors of the said Science have during the late Warrs and troubles dyed in want, and there being now noe preferment or Encouragement in the way of Musick, noe man will breed his child in it, soe that it must needesbee, that the Science itselfe, must dye in this Nacion, with those few Professors of it now living, or at least it will degenerate much from that perfection lately attained unto. Except some present maintenance and Encouragement bee given for educating of some youth in the Study and practice of the said Science. Wherefore your petitioners most humbly pray, That there bee a Corporacion [*sic.*] or Colledge of Musitians erected in London, with reasonable powers to read and practise publiquely all sorts of Musick, and to suppress the singing of obscene scandalous and defamatory Songs and Ballads, and to reforme the abuses in making all sorts of Instruments of Musick, with other reasonable powers of purchasing Lands and having a Common Seale and the like, as were heretofore granted to the professors of the said Science. And alsoe that whatever Lands, Rents, Moneyher effects or Revenues shall bee found to have bin heretofore given or employed for maintenance of professors of

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[115] Thomas Burton, *Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq. Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659*, ed. John Towill Rutt, 4 vols., 1828, rpt., (New York: Johnson, 1974) vol. 3, 148.

[116] John Hingston, *etal.*, *The humble petition of John Hingston and other ye Gent. Of his Highness Musique, 19th Febr. 1656*, Public Records Office, Kew, State Papers 18, vol.153, no.123, fol.254. This would be 1657 in the modern calendar.

> Musick in any way, may bee restored settled and employed for future maintenance and encouragement of the said Science.[117]

What, if anything, came out of this is uncertain although it does seem that the Commwonwealth was prepared to support former royal musicians, particularly if they had shown allegiance to the Parliamentary cause. In 1651, £20 was granted:

> [t]o Thomas Mell, one of the Musicians to the late king ... hee being att Sea in the Parliament service, in part Arrears of his wages.[118]

Had the Interregnum authorities been as adamantly against music as historiography has so often portrayed, it seems unlikely that a "Committee for Advancement of Musick" and a willingness from the authorities to support former royal musicians could have existed.

The fact that Cromwell himself possessed a musical establishment further refutes the notion of the mid-seventeenth-century as a universally desolate time for English music. Just as with church and theatre music, the coming of the Civil War and Interregnum brought with it a variety of results. For musicians who had been employed by the Crown, the outbreak of hostilities meant the end of a comfortable and well-paying job. Yet the early 1640s also created new opportunities for publishers and non-court musicians, now freed from the narrowing effects of royal dominance and restrictions. Largely as a result of this, and thanks to the contributions of John Playford, the Commonwealth period witnessed a marked increase in the number of music publications. The demand it fed spread across a wide range of genres and venues, but what essentially drove it was a very real desire to access music. As it had been before the war, this could sometimes be supplied by professional musicians. In 1654, amongst the butchers,

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[117] Hingston, *etal.*, fol.254.

[118] Ashbee, vol. 5, 24. Today this would be worth around £1760, "How Much is That Worth Today?,"

bakers and candlestick makers of York were:

> Christopher Girdler, musitioner, sonne of John Gridler. Ric. Girdler, musitioner, sonne of the said John Girdler, musitioner. Ambrose Girdler, sonne of the said John Girdler. John Holmes, musitioner, sonne of Symon Holmes, musitioner.[119]

Yet musical performance was not exclusive. Whether an individual participated directly or merely listened to what was on offer, their involvement was generally driven by enjoyment rather than economics. As the writings of Evelyn, Mace, North, Pepys, Wood and others have made clear, music was an important part of daily life. It did not cease with the coming of the Civil War and Interregnum. At a time of increased political uncertainty, it was a period in which many, regardless of their geographical location or position in life, chose to "fidle at home."

[119] *Freeman Books*, York City Archives, D.1. Other occupations listed include cobblers, tanners, tailors, glove makers, locksmiths, drapers, merchants and saddlers.

Conclusion

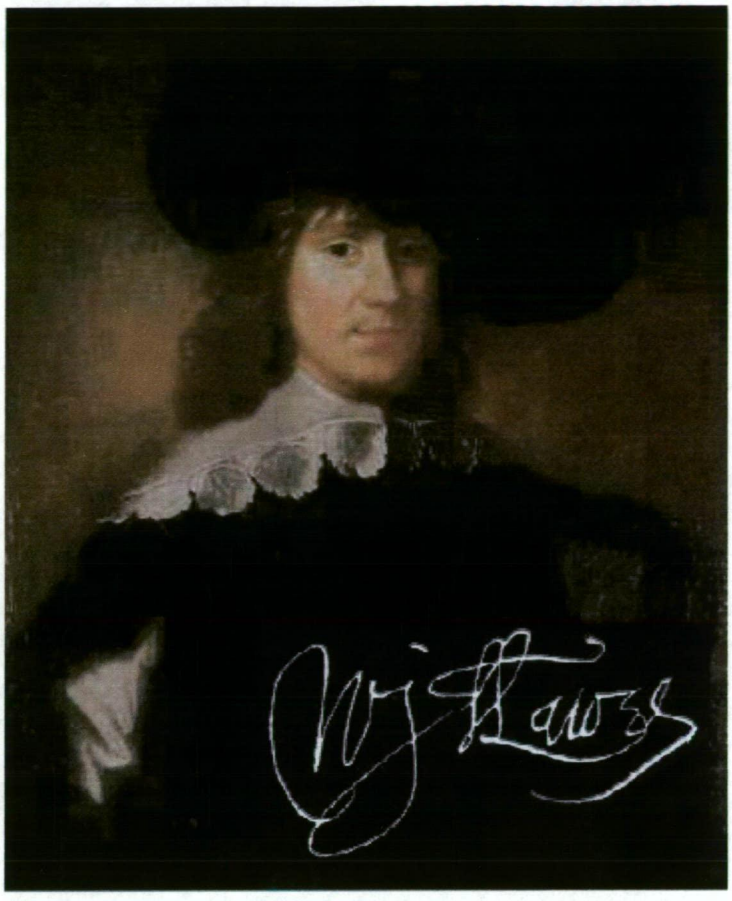

Fig. 9. Anon. *William Lawes.*[1]

In many respects, this portrait of William Lawes encapsulates the musical essence of Civil War and Interregnum England. Both his portrayal and the music he and others of the period composed seem to display the same sentiments of reservedness, discreet happiness and a quiet sense of self-confidence in themselves and the world around them. Yet beyond this broad aesthetic observation, is a repertoire that is difficult to clarify with standard musicological labels. Neither truly Renaissance nor completely Baroque, English music of the mid seventeenth century often appears to be taking a gentle stroll along a country

[1] Anon. *William Lawes. William Lawes: Composer at the Court of Charles I.* http://canterburygreenman.fsnet.co.uk/WilliamLawes.htm. 4th March 2003.

back road rather than racing down the music history highway. It seems to have ignored the "great composer" and "prominent repertoire" signs that might have led it onto this mainstream musicological motorway, instead content to exist largely within itself – independent, contained and self-sufficient. Neither has its presence been enhanced by the politics of the 1640s and 1650s. In a time of rebellion, civil war and a new form of regime such events, and the idea that an extensive cultural life could not co-exist with them, have tended to dominate the music of this period. The result is a music often prematurely condemned on account of its chronological placement and a repertoire on the very periphery of the musicological canon.

Yet in many respects the condemnation of mid-seventeenth-century English music is both unjustified and undeserved. Whilst the impact of the conflict was sometimes negative and occasionally devastating, this was counter-balanced by more neutral and positive outcomes. As with any other period of history, the time of the English Civil War and Interregnum was not a single indivisible occurrence but rather a collection of sequential and parallel events and circumstances that constituted a much larger whole. Its true impact must therefore be built with smaller components rather than on the basis of a sole value judgement. Effects were both fluid and variable. For instance the demise of the court from 1642 brought with it despair, uncertainty and unemployment for many court musicians, yet the end of the royal musical establishment also meant the cessation of a limited and nepotistic institution and the end of restrictive royal patents. Unless they had been fortunate enough to secure royal favour, the successes of publishers such as John Playford and George Thomason would

probably not have been possible before the Commonwealth period. In addition, the Cromwellian regime indirectly promoted theatre music whilst simultaneously prohibiting stage-plays and closing performance venues. By including a significant proportion of music, such as songs, incidental music and sung dialogue, the presentation could be labelled as something other than a play and so avoid censure.

The coming of war and the rise of the Commonwealth produced some undesirable consequences for the music of the period, be it through the destruction of organs or music manuscripts, restrictions on aspects of church and theatre music or the disintegration of the royal musical establishments. However, these were counterbalanced by more positive results. Simultaneous with their musical despair, the 1640s and 1650s also witnessed the emergence and development of both new and pre-existing musical opportunities – music publication increased, domestic music was still valued, pedagogy continued to be important, the study of music theory did not cease, semi-public concerts and paid music gatherings began to emerge, church music continued and restrictions on the theatre encouraged the inclusion of music. What the Civil War and Interregnum produced for English music was not a sole negative outcome but instead a wide variety of results, each affecting the many components of the period in varying ways. A component of this diversity should not be singled out and applied to the entire period.

In addition to this selective consideration, much of the condemnation of mid-seventeenth-century English music has stemmed from an extremely limited consideration of numbers and a reduced awareness of overall impact. Nowhere

has this been more prevalent and permeating than in the field of sacred music. The strong imagery of the Civil War and Interregnum period as a time in which church choirs were dissolved, organs destroyed, music collections decimated and church property desecrated was not entirely unjustified. However, what this perception has consistently failed to consider was the number of churches affected by these despairing occurrences. When seen solely in terms of cathedrals and cathedral-like institutions, as has most commonly been the case, the results are depressing. When applied, as they should be, to *all* English places of worship, the impact of the English Civil War and Interregnum alters considerably. Most parish churches had little to upset Puritan sensibilities – by the time of the Civil War, the vast majority simply did not posses the funds to maintain a choir or organ or to create elaborate church interiors. As a result, the music heard in them during the Commonwealth period was almost identical in scope and style to their repertoire of a century earlier. Given that most religious venues *were* parish churches their consideration in any aspect of mid-seventeenth-century English sacred music is vital. By limiting the numbers, an accurate examination of the period, and the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum upon it, would have been virtually impossible.

Misunderstanding of the period has also stemmed from a lack of conscious interpretation and deeper consideration. If evidence is only superficially examined, the results it draws may not be as accurate as could be hoped. Such approaches have been particularly prevalent in the realm of theatre music where the 1642 ordinance prohibiting stage-plays has all too frequently been taken only at face value. Whilst the ordinance did aim to prohibit a specific theatrical genre,

the motives of censorship and media control that fuelled it must also be analysed. The prohibition of stage plays in 1642 was not solely the result of religious and moral considerations, but also had much to do with political stability. Nor did it extend to all forms of theatrical production. By including a significant proportion of music, a work could be re-classified as something other than a stage-play and therefore circumvent government restrictions. Similarly, the demise of cathedral music was by no means synonymous with the cessation of all forms of sacred music, and in numerous places of worship across England music continued to be a significant component of the service. By carefully considering all angles and aspects of the period and its music the picture alters substantially. It quickly becomes evident that the Civil War and Interregnum produced a variety of impacts and outcomes, not all overwhelmingly advantageous but neither consistently disastrous.

For the most part, the forces of historiography have not been kind to the music of mid-seventeenth-century England. Fellowes espoused the opinions of many when he alluded to the middle decades as a plain between the two great mountains of Byrd and Purcell.[2] Burney described the period as time of "gloomy fanaticism" that did little to support musical activity.[3] For more recent writers it has been an era that many have either overlooked or quickly passed through, preferring to focus their attentions on Henry Purcell and his contemporaries.[4] Where research into the period has been undertaken, and much of it is quite

[2] Edmund H. Fellowes, "William Byrd (1543-1623)," *The Heritage of Music*, 2 vols., ed. Hubert J. Foss, vol. 1., (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1934) 1. See Chapter Two, pp.37-38.

[3] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, (London: Foulis, 1935) 321.

[4] For examples see W.R. Anderson, *The Musical Companion: A Compendium for all Lovers of Music*, ed. A.L. Bacharach, (London: Gollancz, 1934) 575; Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth, *A History of Music*, (London: Macmillan, 1933) 217 and Donald J. Grout, *A History of Western Music*, (New York: Norton, 1960) 299. See Chapter Two, pp.38-40.

valuable, it has generally employed a more specific focus, concentrating on topics such as organology, performance practice or manuscript studies.[5] What this thesis has attempted, and hopefully achieved, is to deliver a holistic and historically aware examination of the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English music of the period. For this to have succeeded, an understanding of the historiography of the time was vital. History may well be what has happened in the past, but how these happenings are recorded and what is portrayed is the realm of historiography. In some instances, and particularly in regard to the music of mid-seventeenth-century England, the distances can be vast indeed.

The idea was not to portray historiography as the enemy but rather to be conscious of its power in shaping later comprehensions of the period. Perhaps more than any other time in music history, the repertoire of Civil War and Interregnum England has been so affected by these forces that the traditional and revised perceptions of the period share few commonalities. Sacred music was not completely obliterated and theatre music continued to exist. To be sure, both were often forced to take on different forms, and in both cases the coming of war and change of regime promoted some forms over others, but as a repertoire each continued. If there was to be an exception to this widespread historiographical condemnation, it almost invariably lay in the field of domestic music. Even writers such as Burney and Parry, generally so condemning of the period under examination, were prepared to concede that these genres were cultivated, and even to admit that their production was at a higher level than surrounding

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[5] For examples see David Lasocki, "The Recorder in the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline Theater," *American Recorder* 25, 3 (1984): 3-10; Jane T. Johnson, "Violin Versus Viol In English Fantasia-Suites," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 15 (1978): 88-101 and Anthony Woodford, "Music for the Viol in Tablature: Manuscript Sources in the British Museum," *Chelys* 2 (1970): 23-33.

periods.[6] Yet even here musicological interest has not been high. Works on mid-seventeenth-century English music have not abounded and where they do exist, attention has been heavily concentrated on specific and individual studies. Competing within the main realm of music research, the response has been limited. The picture painted by the traditional historiography of the period, in which music was often seen as having been virtually non-existent, has done little to promote academic enthusiasm.

Whilst this need for historiographical consciousness is greater for some periods than for others, it is nevertheless a musicological tool that needs to be more frequently used. Admittedly, the music of mid-seventeenth-century England is a field for which such awareness is vital, the influence of historiography having generally been so harsh, but even for less affected times and places, it is a method that can be readily applied. Its inclusion need not be blatant, explicitly stated or even clearly obvious – its mere existence is enough to assist in the pursuit of historicity. In a musicological canon so resolutely focused on the lives of great composers and their master works, many other aspects of music history become lost along the wayside. This is not to suppose for a second that musicology must now account for and examine every note ever written or orally transmitted – not all past music is good music – but there are nevertheless many wonderful pieces condemned to obscurity on account of their compositional and chronological placement.

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[6] See Burney 321 and C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Music of the Seventeenth Century, The Oxford History of Music*, vol. 3, 1902, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford UP, 1938) 207-208.

Attempting to override negative historiography and encapsulate more music history by no means constitutes a denouncement of composers such as Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. The talent, value and output of these individuals ensure recognition. The aim of a more inclusive approach is *not* the destruction of the musicological canon, but rather the enhancement of it. In essentials, it will invariably remain much as it always has been – a body of works and composers deemed worthy of conscious preservation and easy access. What will hopefully change is the nature of its exclusiveness and impenetrability. Letting some hitherto neglected repertoire through the door is not synonymous with opening the floodgates to every work ever written or destroying the very foundations upon which music history rests.

This thesis in no way purports to be the first work to emphasise lesser-known music, nor does it envisage being the last – it is merely one of many points on a longer journey. Over the past decades musicology, and indeed the reception of large tracts of music, has undergone some major changes. The continued expansions of the recording industry, and in particular the emergence of extensive catalogues of low-cost compact discs such as the Naxos label, have ensured the greater availability of more music to more people. Similarly, the increasing prevalence of technologies such as the radio, cassette recorder, compact disc player, television, video recorder, digital video disc player, advanced computer software and the internet have all ensured further access and the ability, whether legally or illegally, to record and store music. Such factors have no doubt contributed, at least in part, to an increased musicological interest in lesser-known areas.

Combined with the growing desire, and demand, for original contributions, it is not surprising that many researchers have looked to subjects either outside or on the edge of the mainstream musicological literature. Whilst biographies of major composers such as Haydn, Brahms and Mahler continue to be produced these have been joined by studies of lesser-known composers such as Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), John Ireland (1879-1962) and Henri Dutilleux (b.1916).[7] This quest for new research territory has also meant than many works have featured a concentrated emphasis rather than a more general perspective.[8] Conscious of these changes, the last twenty or so years have also witnessed an outpouring of works on musicology itself, examining everything from its increasing diversity and the construction of the canon, to the place of ethnomusicology and the boundaries of the musicological discipline.[9] It is an area of academic study that is currently undergoing some major re-assessments and significant shifts of focus. Any work now entering this scholarly collective must be pivotally aware of its place in what is frequently a semi-nebulous discipline.

Underlying its subject matter, and the tools of rhetoric used to deliver it, the methodological foundations of this study rest heavily on the pillars of historical and historiographical awareness. By appreciating and understanding the

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[7] See David Wyn Jones, ed., *Haydn*, (Oxford: OUP, 2002); Michael Musgrave, *A Brahms Reader*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 2000); Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson, eds., *The Mahler Companion*, (Oxford: OUP, 1999); Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Fiona Richards, *The Music of John Ireland*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Caroline Potter, *Henri Dutilleux: His Life and Works*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

[8] See Malcolm Gillies, *Bartók in Britain: A Guided Tour*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna, 1896-1897: Critically Moving Forms*, (Oxford: OUP, 1996); H.C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year*, 2nd ed, (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999).

[9] See Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*, (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992); Ruth A. Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, (Berkely: U of California P, 1993); N. Cook and M. Everist, eds., *Rethinking Music*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999); Alastair Williams, *Constructing Musicology*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

environment in which a particular music was produced, many aspects of the music itself become more comprehensible. Music, as with any other form of human endeavour, cannot be divorced from its surroundings. Although the degree of required intimacy between music and history will vary according to the individual researcher and the topic at hand, a substantial degree of connection is vital if the music is to be placed into its correct frame of reference. Musicology and ethnomusicology may well have their differences, but at the core of both must be conscious effort to place music within its environment and a desire to add depth to a study through contextual inclusion. What this thesis has attempted to do is examine the music of mid-seventeenth-century England within its historical circumstances, focussing specifically on the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum upon this repertoire. Understandably, the links between music and history have in this case been extremely close – for the work's objectives to be achieved their strong co-existence and extensive use was vital.

Yet it is not an exclusive method. Whilst the music of other geographical and chronological locations may not necessarily call for such deep historical consideration, it is nevertheless a viable methodology for large tracts of future research. It could for instance be easily applied to French music of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, to Russian music at the time of the revolution or to more localised and perhaps lesser known events such as the effects of isolation amongst groups of European settlers in overseas colonies, or the results of urban expansion or demographic change in a particular area. Whether it is appreciated or not, all humans are part of their wider history in some way or another. It may be considered something monumental, such as being part

of the celebrations that marked the end of World War II, witnessing India's independence, or watching the Berlin Wall come down in 1989; or something equally valuable but decidedly more low-key – participating in local events, voting in a national election, or simply being one of the billions who inhabit this earth. History by no means remembers or records everything but, even if only for a very short time, everyone is somehow part of it. The musicians of the English Civil War and Interregnum were no exception – their primary focus may have been music, but their very existence ensured that they were also part of history and that their music would, to varying degrees, inevitably be affected by the political, social and economic upheavals of their time.

Beyond the tools of methodology, the goal of original contribution, the aim of research integrity, and an increased awareness of musicology, lay a deeper objective – the exposure of a largely forgotten period with some wonderful musical offerings. For too long the period of Civil War and Interregnum England has been perceived as a desolate musical landscape. Aspects of its reception are changing, most notably in the production of intense works on specific areas, but until now a holistic and concerted examination of the entire period had not been attempted. Even so, that the historiographical perception of the period should generally have been so harsh is not really surprising. The idea of a Civil War followed by a Puritan regime, the latter especially tainted with the imagery that traditionally applies to this group, does little to promote research interest. Furthermore, the fact that these events took place in a nation often seen as having made a limited musical contribution, and at a time when the primary focus of music history was on the development of opera, has dampened any possible

enthusiasm for the subject. The music of Civil War and Interregnum England simply does not rest easily within the wider musicological framework. There is no reply to the glorified musical denizens of later centuries, no mid-seventeenth-century English equivalent to Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* or Beethoven's fifth, and no noticeably rich flowering of musical development or innovation. Yet this is not synonymous with an empty period. What existed was an intensely subtle, personal, profound and introverted repertoire, whose calmness and innate qualities no doubt brought happiness to many players, listeners and composers, and greatly assisted them in their day to day association with those "sad, distracted tymes."

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